KHAZAR STUDIES

An Historico-Philological Inquiry into
the Origins of the Khazars

PETER B. GOLDEN

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CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS 9

AUTHOR'S NOTE 11

INTRODUCTION 13

The Khazar problem 21

Khazar studies 22

Further tasks of Khazar studies 24

CHAPTER ONE

PRE-KHAZAR TURKIC INROADS IN EUROPE 27

The Huns 28

The Oğur Turks 30

The Sabirs 34

The Avars 36

The Kök Türks 37

The Bulğars 42

Bulğar culture and institutions 46

A note on the Bulğar language 47

CHAPTER TWO

THE KHAZARS 49

Theories regarding the origin of the Khazars 51

Appendix 57

History of the Khazar Qağanate 58

Sarkel and the proto-Hungarians 67

CHAPTER THREE

THE KHAZAR QAĞANATE: PEOPLES AND INSTITUTIONS 86

Volga Bulğaria 86
The Burṭās 88

The North Caucasus: 90
North Caucasian Huns 90
The Alans 93
The Khazar Qağanate 97
Khazaria and commerce 107

CHAPTER FOUR

THE KHAZAR WORD LIST 112

Sources 113
Arabic 113
Byzantine 117
Caucasian 119
I. Armenian 119
II. Georgian 120
Hebrew 121
Persian 122
Tribal names 123
1. Q'azar 123
2. Qabar 133
3. Qara Q'azar 142
4. Barsil–Berzilia 143
Personal names and titles 147
5. Alp' iłut'uēr 147
6. Alp T'arxan 150
7. As Tarxan 151
8. Awč'i T'arxan 154
9. *Bağatur 155
10. Bārǰīk 156

11. Bāštū/Bāštwā 160
12. Bäk ~ Bäg 162
13. Belgiči ~ Bälgiči-Balǧiči (*Balıqčı ?) 165
14. Bolušči 167
15. Bulan 169
16. Bluč'an/Bulč'an/Buljān 171
17. Č'at' Kasar 173
18. Č'at'n Xazr 174
19. Čičäk 175
20. Č'orpan T'arxan 176
21. Čul/Čuli (*Čur ?) 177
22. Hazār Ṭarxān 181
23. (I)buz(s)er Gliaban(r) 182
24. Yilig (< İlig ~ İlik) 184
25. İr-Tigin (İl-Tigin) 186
26. J̌abǧu 187
27. *J̌āwašīǧar 191
28. Qağan 192
29. Qatun 196
30. Xat'irlit'bēr (*Qağir il täbär) 197
31. K.sā 199
32. *Kündür 200
33. Kundājīq 202
34. Papatzys 204
35. P'arsbit'/*Barsbek 205
36. Šad 206
37. Salīfān 209
38. Tarqan/Tarxan 210
39. T'armač' 213
40. Tudun 215
41—42. *Yazir Bulaš (?) 217
43. Ziebēl 218
44. Ānsā ? (clan name) 219

Khazar toponyms 221

45. Bälänǰär 221
46. İtil/Atıl 224
47–48. Xamlīǰ /Xamlīx–*Xutluğ/ *Qutluğ (?) 230
49. Samandar (Sämändär) 234
50. Sārığšin 237
51. Sarkel 239
52. Varač'an 244
Miscellanea 246
53–54. Qīšū(w)ī and B. ğ. nd 246
55. Al-ǰdādah 247
56. Aḥmad ibn Kūyah (Kuwaih?) 248
Words of possible Khazar affiliation 248
Peoples associated with the Khazar state 255
Sabır 256
North Caucasian Hunnic 259
MAPS 264
ABBREVIATIONS 267
BIBLIOGRAPHY 269
I. Manuscripts (including facsimile editions) 269
II. Primary and secondary sources 272

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AUTHOR'S NOTE

This study, as with most first books, began as a doctoral dissertation completed at Columbia University. An expanded version of the manuscript was accepted for publication in 1972. Due to a variety of reasons for which the author, editors and present publishers are in no way responsible, its appearance has been delayed. In the intervening years, several studies have appeared which have some bearing on the themes treated in this book. Of a somewhat peripheral nature are: István Dienes, *The Hungarians Cross the Carpathians* (Budapest, 1972); Gy. László, *A honfoglalókról* ("On the Hungarians of the Conquest Period", Budapest, 1973) and J. Otto Maenchen-Helfen, *The World of the Huns* (Berkeley, 1973). Similarly, in the area of Turkic philology, G. Clauson's *An Etymological Dictionary of pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish* (Oxford, 1972) was not available to me until sometime after the manuscript had left my hands. The general thrust of these works has not necessitated changes in my manuscript. More directly related to my study is the collective work of K. Dąbrowski, T. Nagrodzka-Majchrzyk and E. Tryjarski, *Hunowie Europejscy, Protobułgarzy, Chazarowie, Pieczyngowie* ("European Huns, Protobulgars, Khazars, and Pečenegs") (Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk, 1975). The latter is an extremely useful survey which complements chapters I—III of this study. In its section touching on the Khazar "Sprachreste" it bases itself on a sketch of my work which I supplied the author (duly acknowledged) and which may also be found in my brief article "Hazar Dili" in the *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı Belleten* (1971). Thus, with the exception of some bibliographical additions, my manuscript has remained essentially unchanged.

East Windsor, New Jersey — Peter B. Golden

INTRODUCTION

The medieval history of the peoples of Eastern Europe is intimately intertwined with that of the steppe. The life-giving riverways of Eastern Europe, particularly the Volga—Don—Donets complex, vital arteries of international trade, served as a magnet to the steppe-dweller. Driven from his Central Asian home by natural disasters or the continual buffeting of peoples along the northern Chinese border which in chain reaction fashion sent peoples spinning off to the West, the nomad, once he established himself in the steppelands which encompass these rivers, could enjoy the best of two worlds. The rich grasslands of the North Caucasian and Ukrainian steppes provided fodder for his herds. The riverways, in turn, brought him into contact with not only the sedentary agricultural peoples on their banks but also with the trade emporiums of the Near East, Byzantium and Western Europe. The nomad coming from the borders of China, by virtue of his long contact with that rich empire, knew and appreciated the significance of trade. It was no accident that when he arrived in his new Eastern European homeland, he was immediately drawn to the arteries of trade in this region. The lower-middle Volga, a vital link in the Baltic–Caspian and East–West trade, was the natural seat for a series of nomadic states from the mid-seventh to the mid-sixteenth century. Thus, even the Mongols, the most powerful of these groups, after their initial devastation of the area quickly set about the task of reestablishing the trade patterns that had existed prior to their coming.[1] The picture of the nomad as simply a mounted marauder, while justified from the point of view of those who felt the fury of their attacks, does not tell the full story. From the objects found in the burial mounds (*qurğans*) of these peoples we see that theirs was a vital and rich civilization. Their political, social and military organization was on a par with if not superior to that of the peoples they conquered. Moreover, many of the Altaic nomadic peoples had a written literature, the hallmark of all developed peoples.

[1] B. Grekov and Ia. Iakubovskii, *Zolotaia Orda i eë padenie* (Moskva–Leningrad, 1950), pp. 12–13, 20–26, 30, 67–69.

The first known nomadic inroads into the Eurasian steppe were carried out by Iranians: Scythians, Sarmatians and Alans. By the fourth century A. D. these groups gave way to the Altaic peoples: Huns, Akatzirs, Bulğar or Oğuric Turkic groupings such as the Oğurs, Uturğurs, Quturğurs, Onoğurs (the latter brought the Ugrian Hungarians into the steppe zone), Sabirs, Avars, Khazars, Kök Türks, Pečenegs, Oğuz, Qıpčaqs (Polovtsy or Qumans) and Mongols. Some of these peoples were able to form vast world empires (Kök Türks, Mongols). Others, such as the Huns, in the fifth century, came to wield power but fleetingly and when the loose tribal confederation on which their power rested was jolted loose by a dramatic event (the death of Attila), the component tribes melted back into the steppe, regrouped and in time reappeared as a new tribal union bearing a new name or were joined to another stronger tribe with imperial ambitions. The charisma of an individual leader could be all-important in holding the tribes together. If the tribal union was the product of many years of struggle amongst the tribes themselves, this uneasy alliance, held intact by a combination of force, charisma and the promise of booty,[2] quickly came to an end with the death of the ruler.

One of the most interesting of the Turkic peoples to build a state in the Eurasian steppe were the Khazars. Given the importance and longevity of the Khazar state (approximately three hundred years, roughly the same as the Mongol Golden Horde), one is surprised that more is not known about them. Every schoolchild in the West has been told that if not for Charles Martel and the battle of Poitiers there might be a mosque where Notre Dame now stands. What few schoolchildren are aware of is that if not for the Khazars, as Dunlop pointed out in his work,[3] Eastern Europe might well have become a province of Islam. The Khazars blunted the Arab advance through the Caucasus and fought them there to a standstill. After more than one hundred years of warfare, the Arabs could not move beyond Bāb al-Abwāb (Derbend).

The conversion of the Khazars to Judaism though not unique in history[4] has raised a host of questions regarding the history of the Jews in

[2] F. László, "A kagán és családja" *Kőrösi Csoma Archivum*, 3 (1940), p. 11; W. Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens* (Berlin, 1935), p. 11.

[3] D. M. Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars* (Princeton, 1954), pp. 46–47.

[4] In the first century A. D. the king of Adiabene, Izates, converted to Judaism and a Jewish kingdom under Dhu Nuwās, a convert, existed in Yemen in the early sixth century culminating a period of Arab–Jewish contact. *See* J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge* (reprint: Hildesheim, 1961), p. 288 ff. and S. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews* (New York, 1957), III, pp. 63–67; P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (London–New York, 1961, 8th ed.), pp. 60–62.

Russia.[5] The conversion to Judaism, whatever may have been the personal or political reasons of the qağans (it is more than likely that this was not the work of one man)[6] was certainly carried out in many stages.[7] In the international arena, Judaism gave the Khazars a certain freedom in their relations with the Caliphate and Byzantium that conversion to Islam or Christianity would have limited.

The conversion also gained them a certain status among the world empires of that day the ideological bases of which were expressed in religious terms. They could thus compete, as the representative of a world religion, with their immediate neighbors, the Caliphate and Byzantium. The Khazars, it would appear, considered their state an empire, hence the title *Qağan* and the adoption of the administrative apparatus of the Kök Türk empire whose off-shoot and successor in the West they were.

In geographic terms, the Khazar state was one of the largest political units of the day, a fact that is frequently ignored. Stretching from Kiev in the West up to but not including Khwārizm in the East and from Bulğar on the Volga in the North to the Crimea and the Caucasus in the South, containing a multi-national, multi-lingual, multi-religious population, holding under its sway a series of vassal states and tribes, the Khazar Qağanate could, with full justification, style itself an empire. Khazaria, though its economy, typical of nomads in the Eurasian, Ponto-Caspian steppeland, was a composite of agricultural and cattle-raising elements, became one of the great commercial centers of the period. Striding the East–West transit routes and controlling this trade, it was a land with a well-developed urban culture (witness the listings of Khazar cities in the Islamic sources). The economic power of the Khazar state was so great that it could finance a standing paid army.[8] Itil, the Khazar capital on the Volga, was one of the important trade emporiums of its day. In spite of this, it has vanished

[5] I. Berlin, *Istoričeskie sud'by evreiskago naroda na territorii russkago gosudarstva* (Petrograd, 1920), pp. 52–55.

[6] M. I. Artamonov, *Istoriia Xazar* (Leningrad, 1962), pp. 324–329; P. K. Kokovtsov, *Evreisko-xazarskaia perepiska v X veke* (Leningrad, 1932), p. 80.

[7] *See* Dunlop, *op. cit.*, Chap. V–VI for a detailed discussion of Judaism in Khazaria and the sources on it.

[8] Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj adh-Dhahab wa Maʿādin al-Jawhar*. The old and standard edition is : Maçoudi, *Les prairies d'or*, ed. trans. C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille (Paris, 1863), II, p. 11. A new edition (with revised translation) of the de Meynard–de Courteille edition has appeared (Paris–Beirut, 1962–1970) under the supervision of C. Pellat. A recent Egyptian edition : edited by M. Muhī'addīn ʿAbdalḥamīd (Cairo, 1964–67) is also available. All citations are from the older Paris edition (henceforward abbreviated as *Murūj*) unless otherwise specified.

without a trace, as indeed has much of urban Khazaria itself. This is the great enigma of the Khazars and from the historian's point of view, it is perhaps their most interesting aspect.

Khazaria lived on, however, in the contributions it made to the cultures of the peoples with which it was in contact. As is to be expected, it played a great role in early Kievan history. The Ruś Chronicles are curiously sparing in details in their comments on the Khazars. The reason for these omissions is unknown. It is hard to believe that the compilers of the first Codex of the Ruś Chronicles, writing less than a hundred years after the fall of Khazaria, could have forgotten the intimate ties of the Ruś with the Khazar Qağanate. That the Khazars lived on in the memory of the Eastern Slavic peoples is undoubted. Thus, the "byliny", the product of North-Eastern Russia (which historically had no contact with the Khazars), preserved the memory of the Khazars in the tales about Mixailo Kozarin (Kazariatin),[9] who was transformed into a Russian hero and Židovin, a mighty giant with whom Il'ia Muromets and Dobrynia Nikitič waged many a battle.[10] Židovin (the Jew) is obviously a reference to the Judaism of the Khazars. In more concrete terms, the *Povest' vremiannyx let* tells us that in 859, the Poliane, Severiane and Viatiči were tributaries of the Khazars.[11] According to Masʿūdī, the Ruś and the Slavs were assigned to two quarters of Itil, had their own judge to decide and regulate their affairs and served in the Khazar army and household of the Qağan.[12] Eastern[13] and Western sources[14] state that the king of the Ruś bore the title *xāqān*, *chacanus* (qağan) no doubt under Khazar auspices. If Ibn Faḍlān's account is to be believed in its entirety, the early Ruś, like the Khazars, had a ceremonial king and a deputy who actually governed the country and commanded the armies.[15] This is a form of dual kingship widely practised amongst the Turkic peoples. The title qağan ("kagan"

[9] *Byliny*, ed. V. N. Putilov (Leningrad, 1957), pp. 178–182.

[10] I. Berlin, *Ist. sud'by*, p. 167.

[11] *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisei (PSRL)*, ed. Arxeografičeskaia Kommissiia (Moskva, 1962), I, p. 19.

[12] Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, II, pp. 9, 11–12.

[13] Ibn Rusta, *Kitāb al-Aʿlāq an-Nafīsa*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1892), p. 32; D. Xvol'son, *Izvestiia o xozarax, burtasax, bolgarax, mad'iarax, slavianax i russax Abu-Ali Axmeda ben Omar Ibn-Dasta*, (SPb. 1869), p. 35; *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, ed. trans. V. Minorsky (London, 1937), p. 159.

[14] ". . . Rhos . . . quos rex illorum chaganus (var. chacanus) . . ." *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, ed. F. Grat, J. Vielliard, S. Clémencet (Paris, 1964), p. 30.

[15] *Kniga Axmeda Ibn Fadlana o ego putešestvii na Volgu v 921–922 gg*, ed. trans. A. P. Kovalevskii (Xar'kov, 1956), p. 146, (Arab MS text, p. 313).

in old Ruś) was in use up to the eleventh century in Kievan Ruś. It is found in Ilarion's *Slovo o zakone i blagodati* a highly polemical work which helped set the ideological underpinnings for the canonization of Vladimir. Both Vladimir and the then reigning Grand Prince Iaroslav were called "kagan".[16]

Another interesting but as yet little explored question is the role and influence of Hebrew literature in Kievan Ruś. The Old Testament, of course, came to Ruś with Byzantine Orthodox Christianity. But there is evidence that individual elements of the Old Testament and Apocrypha were translated directly from the Hebrew.[17] One of the early classics (eleventh century) of Old Ruś Translation Literature was the *History of the Jewish War* of Josephus Flavius (translated from the Greek).[18] At the same time, the *Book of Yosippon* was also translated from its Hebrew original. Josephus' *History* had considerable literary influence on Old Ruś Literature, contributing a number of stock phrases, often repeated in later works.[19] Yosippon, or rather, elements of it, in turn, found their way into a number of Old Ruś texts (among them the Hypatian redaction of the Ruś Chronicles and the *Akademičeskii Xronograf*[20]).

The motivating forces behind this seeming taste for Jewish literature (if, indeed, there were any — both of these works were popular in Europe and perhaps no special significance need be attached to their appearance in Ruś) are unclear. One is confronted with similar difficulties when examining some of the sermons of Kirill of Turov and Ilarion which contain sharp attacks on Judaism. Were these simply copies of existing byzantine formulae, part of the "theologisches Traditionsgut" as Müller would have it?[21] Or, did they address themselves to a real problem? The former view, given what we know of eleventh century Kievan Ruś, seems more plausible. Yet, the religious debate purportedly held at Vladimir's court (if this itself was not a fabrication of the chroniclers done in imitation of the religious

[16] *Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede auf Vladimir den Heiligen und Glaubensbekenntnis*, ed. L. Müller (Wiesbaden, 1962), pp. 100, 103, 129, 143.

[17] A. Meščerskii, *Istoriia iudeiskoi voiny Iosifa Flaviia v drevnerusskom perevode* (Moskva—Leningrad, 1958), p. 152. For an evaluation of the not always critical work of H. M. Baratz on this question, *see* D. M. Dunlop, "H. M. Baratz and his Views of Khazar Influence on the Earliest Russian Literature, Juridical and Historical" *Salo Wittmayer Baron Jubilee Volume* (Jerusalem, 1975), pp. 345–367.

[18] Meščerskii, *Istoriia iudeiskoi voiny*, pp. 66–69.

[19] D. Čiževskij, *History of Russian Literature* ('S-Gravenhage, 1962), p. 24.

[20] Meščerskii, *Istoriia*, pp. 132–141.

[21] Müller, *Lobrede*, p. 28.

debate said to have been held at the court of the Khazar Qağan) if genuine, would point to the existence of a Jewish group in Ruś important enough to be brought into the proceedings and perhaps continuing to wield some influence. The possibility of individual Ruś in Khazar service having been converted to Judaism and continuing to adhere to that religion even after the fall of Khazaria and the introduction of Orthodox Christianity into Ruś is not to be excluded. Perhaps, it was to these people that Kiril and Ilarion directed their sermons. Admittedly, this is speculation based on highly circumstantial evidence. The question of Khazar–Jewish–Ruś relations and in particular the role of Jews coming from the Khazar lands (be they Judaised Khazars or Jewish emigrés from elsewhere) in the arousing of interest in Jewish literature and Judaism among the Ruś is one of the many problems pertaining to Khazar studies that deserves far more attention than it has received up to the present.

The question of Hungarian–Khazar relations is an extremely complex one. As our purpose here is only to trace the importance of the Khazars for the history of the peoples of Eastern Europe, it will suffice to note that elements of the ancestors of the Hungarians, brought from their Uralic homelands to Western Siberia and thence to the middle Volga and Kama–Ural (Yayıq) region by the movements of various Oğuric Turkic tribes in the mid-fifth century, remained here up to the beginning of the ninth century at approximately which time they migrated to the Pontic steppes and at the end of the century to their present homeland.[22] During their sojourn in the Pontic steppes (elements of the Hungarians may have also come to the North Caucasus during this period) they absorbed many elements of Oğuric Turkic[23] and Khazar culture (the title *kende*, the manner of the investiture of Árpád[24] all bespeak close ties with the Khazars). The Khazar element was further strengthened when dissident Khazars, called Qabars, joined the Hungarian horde in the Pontic steppes in the ninth century and

[22] *See* T. Halasi-Kun, "A magyarság kaukázusi története" in *A magyarság őstörténete* (henceforward abbreviated as *MŐT*), ed. L. Ligeti (Budapest, 1943), pp. 71–99 and a discussion of questions of Hungarian proto-history later in this work.

[23] Z. Gombocz, "Die bulgarisch-türkischen Lehnwörter der ungarischen Sprache" (henceforward abbreviated as *BTL*) *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* XXX (1912) has an in depth study of Bulğar Turkic loan-words in Hungarian.

[24] Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio* (henceforward abbreviated as *DAI*), Greek text ed. Gy. Moravcsik, Eng. trans. R. J. H. Jenkins in series *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* vol. I (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, 1967), p. 174 (= older Bonn ed., pp. 169–170. All citations are from the Moravcsik–Jenkins edition unless otherwise indicated).

went with them to Pannonia.[25] Khazar place-names in Hungary to-day attest to this.[26]

The Hungarians also appear to have adopted the institution of the dual kingship in its Khazar form. This can be seen in passages found in Ibn Rusta and Gardīzī.

Ibn Rusta: "The Majğarī [Magyars p.g.] are a kind of a branch of the Turks. Their chief rides out accompanied by 20,000 horsemen. He is called *kende* (كنده). This is the title of their king, but the name of the man who rules over them is *jıla* [= Hung. *gyula* p.g.]. All the Majğarī obey the orders of their chief called *jıla*."[27]

Gardīzī: "They [the Majğarī p.g.] are a class of Turks and their sālār (has) 20,000 horse. They call this sālār *K.nda* and this is the name of their greater king, (whereas) the sālār who makes appointments . . . is called *Jula* and the Majğarī do whatever he orders them . . ."[28]

The role the Khazars played in the history of the steppe and in the Turkic world in general was considerable. Turkicization of parts of the North Caucasus and the Crimea must certainly have begun during the Khazar period. The Khazars also served as a buffer between the steppe and Europe. The early inroads of the Pečenegs were largely absorbed by the Khazars and their allies. The Byzantines, well aware of Khazaria's role in absorbing the first shocks set off by movements in the steppe, gave their aid (thus the building of Sarkel in 838) or withheld it as they juggled steppe alliances.[29] In a sense, Khazaria was Byzantium's first line of defense against the Turkic nomads. When Khazaria, weakened by Oğuz and Pečeneg inroads, finally succumbed to the Ruś under Sviatoslav and the Oğuz in 965 there was never again a force strong enough in the steppe to hold back the Turkic hordes. According to Turkic legend, Dudaq, the father of Seljuq whose tribe

[25] Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *DAI*, Chapter 39.

[26] Gy. Németh, *A honfoglaló magyarság kialakulása* (henceforward abbreviated as *HMK*) (Budapest, 1930), p. 238.

[27] Ibn Rusta (ed. de Goeje), p. 142; Xvol'son (*Ibn Dasta*, pp. 25–26) misunderstood the text as Zaxoder [B. N. Zaxoder, *Kaspiiskii svod svedenii o Vostočnoi Evrope* (Moskva, 1967), vol. II, pp. 48–49] points out.

[28] Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, p. 320, citing Gardīzī.

[29] The high regard in which the Khazars were held and the importance attached by the Byzantines to their friendship can be seen in the more elevated style and richer trappings used by the Byzantine government in its correspondence with the Khazars *(Bulla xrysé trisolbía)* as compared with the haughtier, more condescending and rather curt formulae applied to their neighbors the Ruś, Hungarians and Pečenegs *(Bulla xrysé disolbía)*. *See* Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De Cerimoniis aulae byzantinae libri*, ed. I. I. Reiske (Bonnae, 1829–1830), I, pp. 690–691.

later seized most of Anatolia from Byzantium, was at one time a vassal of the Khazar Qağan.[30] The Khazars, thus, could both open more areas to Turkic settlement and yet hold back the armies of the steppe.

The role of the Khazars in the history of the Jews in Russia is much more difficult to determine. Mas'ūdī tells us that when Romanus Lecapenus (920–944) began to persecute Byzantine Jewry, large numbers of Jews flocked to Khazaria.[31] Jewish settlements in this area, however, existed before the tenth century. The oldest Jewish colonies were in the Crimea dating back to the first century A. D.[32] These colonies evidently survived for later authors (Theophanes and Ibn al-Faqîh[33]) mention Jewish settlements at Phanagoria and *Samkrš al-Yahūd in the Crimea. The Jewish elements in this area prior to the emergence of the Khazars must have been considerable, for only this can help explain the conversion of the Khazars to Judaism. What role the Khazars played in the development of Russian Jewry is again not clear. A Khazar Jewish colony perhaps existed in Kiev as early as the ninth century. A Khazar area in Kiev is first mentioned in the Ruś Chronicles *sub anno* 945.[34] A quarter called *Židove*, however, is first recorded only in 1124.[35] Presumably, the Jewish quarter in Kiev began

[30] O. Turan, *Selçukluların Tarihi ve Türk-Islām Medeniyeti* (Ankara, 1965), p. 31; *The Chronography of Gregory Abū'l Faraj Bar Hebraeus*, trans. E. A. T. W. Budge (London, 1932), p. 195; O. Pritsak, "Der Untergang des Reiches des Oğuzischen Yabğu" *Fuad Köprülü Armağanı*, ed. O. Turan, H. Eren (Istanbul, 1953), pp. 397–410.

[31] Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, p. 8.

[32] S. M. Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*, trans. I. Friedlander (Philadelphia, 1916), I, pp. 15–18. *See also* V. D. Blavatskii, *Pantikapei, očerki istorii stolitsy Bospora* (Moskva, 1964), p. 200; M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (reprint New York, 1969), pp. 150, 179–180 and the epigraphic materials in *Korpus bosporskix nadpisei*, ed. V. V. Struve et al. (Moskva–Leningrad, 1965), pp. 77, 79–81, 428, 443, 658.

[33] *See Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor (reprint: Hildesheim, 1963), I, p. 357 (discussing events c. 670) and Ibn al-Faqīh, *Compendium Libri Kitāb al-Boldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1885), p. 271. Hebrew inscriptional material from the early Middle Ages found in the Crimea has been the subject of some very heated polemics. *See* the works of D. Xvol'son (Chwolson), *Sbornik evreiskix nadpisei* (St. Peterburg, 1884) and A. Harkavy, *Altjüdische Denkmäler aus der Krim* in *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de Saint-Petersbourg* VII[e] série. Tome XXIV, 1, 1877 (reprint Wiesbaden, 1969). As the controversial Qaraim scholar-political figure etc., Firkovič, was responsible for these discoveries, their dating and even authenticity (in some cases) have been called into question. The whole problem is worthy of review and it is to be hoped that, after re-examination of the materials *in situ*, this will be attempted, some day, by Soviet archaeologists or others given access to the materials.

[34] *PSRL*, I, p. 54.

[35] *Ipat'evskaia Letopiś*, *PSRL*, II, p. 285.

under Khazar auspices. By the late eleventh century Kiev became an important Jewish center,[36] though this is beyond the Khazar period. It is impossible to determine the Khazar element in the ethnogenesis of the Russian Jews. Khazar converts probably intermarried with Jews who settled in Khazaria. If so, they were lost in the mass of Jews coming to Ruś from Byzantium and the West. Further speculation along this line, while interesting, can bear no fruit as long as we have neither sources nor linguistic materials to support it.

The Khazar Problem

As can be seen from the above, the Khazar problem is a many faceted one. It is closely connected with the history of the Turkic steppe, Kievan Ruś, Hungarian proto-history, Jewish and Islamic history, and the history of the peoples of the Caucasus. Before the problems relating to Khazar influence on these peoples can be solved, however, several fundamental questions must be answered: 1) Who were the Khazars? 2) What were their ethnic affinities? A glance through the scholarly literature will show that they have been viewed as turkicized Ugrians or Iranians, Oğuric (Bulğaric) Turks,[37] Eastern Turks or some other Altaic group. The best answer that can be given at present is that the *Khazar state* was certainly made up of all these elements. The Khazars themselves, however, still remain something of a mystery. This is chiefly because we have no documents in the Khazar language (though several do exist in Hebrew). The overwhelming majority of Khazar names, titles, and place-names scattered in a variety of sources are Turkic. The name *Khazar* itself can best be explained on the basis of Turkic linguistics (though there are numerous difficulties here. *See* the Khazar Word List of this work). The hodge-podge of peoples among whom the Khazars first appear are Altaic and most probably Turkic. The titulature and administrative structure of the Khazar Qağanate are definitely Turkic and closely parallel that of the Kök Türks. The Khazars lead us ineluctably to the Turkic, or more broadly speaking, Altaic world and it is from here that we may best draw our comparative material, always bearing in mind, however, that this was a world subject to many and differing external cultural forces.

[36] I. Berlin, *Ist. sud'by*, p. 149. *See* also Baron's comments (*A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, III, p. 217) and S. Ettinger's article "Kievan Russia" in *The World History of the Jewish People: The Dark Ages 711–1096*, ed. C. Roth, I. H. Levine (New Brunswick, 1966), pp. 319–324.

[37] Some scholars consider the Bulğars and kindred groups a separate branch of the Altaic peoples.

Khazar Studies

It is not my purpose to give a full account of the historiography of Khazar studies, this has already been more or less done elsewhere.[38] I intend here to give a brief outline of the main thrust of Khazar studies in recent years.

M. I. Artamonov is quite right in noting that Khazar studies, until recently, were usually the stepchild or by-products of researches into other problems. They were mentioned in passing while discussing the history of of Russia, Byzantium or the Hungarians but rarely studied for themselves.

A minor revolution, however, has occurred in Khazar studies in the last forty years. Gy. Németh in his *A honfoglaló magyarság kialakulása* (published in 1930), even though it had as its theme Hungarian proto-history, made a significant contribution to research on the Khazar question. In this work, Németh gave the first systematized classification of Turkic tribal names, a brief outline of Turkic inroads into Eastern Europe up to and including the Khazars and a brief analysis of some Khazar words. In all of this, he continually underlined the Turkic character of the Khazars.[39] Two years later, P. K. Kokovtsov's *Evreisko-xazarskaia perepiska v X veke* appeared. This very valuable work published the texts (Hebrew) of the Letter of the Khazar Qağan Joseph (both the long and short redactions) which was written in reply to the letter sent to him by Ḥasday ben Šaprut (also published) and the Cambridge Document (the letter of an unknown Khazar Jew) with a large and informative commentary. Kokovtsov's work was a direct continuation of the classical Russian Orientalist tradition as exemplified by the works of Ch. D. Fraehn (*Ibn Foszlans und anderer Araber Berichte über die Russen älterer Zeit*, SPb. 1823), A. Ia. Harkavi (*Skazaniia musul'manskix pisatelei o slavianax i russkix*, SPb. 1870 and *Skazaniia evreiskix pisatelei o xazarax i xazarskom tsarstve*, SPb. 1874), D. Xvol'son (*Izvestiia o xazarax, burtasax, bolgarax, mad'iarax, slavianax i russax Abu-Ali Axmeda ben Omara Ibn Dasta*, SPb. 1869), A. Kunik and V. Rosen (*Izvestiia al-Bekri i drugix avtorov o Rusi i slavianax*, SPb. 1878–1903). Kokovtsov, aside from a critical edition of the Khazar Hebrew texts, offers many valuable

[38] *See* M. I. Artamonov, *Istoriia xazar*, introduction.

[39] Actually, H. H. Howorth ("The Khazars were they Ugrians or Turks?" *Travaux de la troisième session du Congrès International des Orientalistes*, SPb., 1876) was the first scholar to opt strongly for the Turkic origin of the Khazars. Marquart in his *Streifzüge* (p. 47) also came out for the Turkic character of the Khazar ruling strata. Németh, however, was the first to give a detailed and comprehensive exposition of this view and set guidelines for research on the Khazar question.

suggestions concerning the historical geography of Khazaria. In 1936, the first of M. I. Artamonov's two monographs on the Khazars appeared (M. I. Artamonov, *Očerki drevneišei istorii xazar*, Leningrad, 1936). In a somewhat diffuse fashion this work pointed to the Turkic milieu from which the Khazars sprang and focused on questions of historical geography. Artamonov's most recent study, *Istoriia xazar* is a history of the Eurasian Turkic steppe movements from the Huns to the Khazars. It contains a good outline of Khazar history and a synthesis of Soviet archaeological work (much of it led by Artamonov) in the search for Khazar cities. From the point of view of Turkic philology, the book is weak and contains many mistakes (Artamonov completely confuses the Oğur Turkic world with the Ugrians). In its basic thrust, however, Artamonov's study does correctly point to two important aspects of Khazarology: (*i*) the Khazars must be understood within the context of the Turkic-Oğuric tribes occupying the South Russian steppes in the post-Hunic period (even though he mistakenly views these tribes as turkicized Ugrians); (*ii*) the necessity for examining the intimate ties of the Khazar state with the West Kök Türkic empire, whose successor state it was. From the methodological point of view, then, the work is a valuable contribution.

The late A. Zajączkowski's *Ze studiów nad zagadnieniem chazarskim* (Kraków, 1947), is a most important recent work (from the turcological point of view) on the Khazars. Following the lines of research set down by Németh, Zajączkowski gives an interesting analysis of some Khazar words, underlines the Turkic character of the Khazars and suggests that their language may have been a Qıpčaq dialect. The basic tone of the work is somewhat flawed, however, by the overzealous attempts of the author to show that his own native Qaraim of Eastern Europe today are descendants of the Khazars. (In a conversation with me in Warsaw in January, 1968, Prof. Zajączkowski remarked that he views the Qaraim as the "heirs" of the Khazars). There is no evidence to support Khazar–Qaraim ties other than the fact that both were Judaized. All the evidence we have, however, would seem to indicate that Khazar Judaism was of the Rabbinical rather than Qaraite persuasion [*see* Z. Ankori, *Karaites in Byzantium* (New York–Jerusalem, 1959) for a full discussion of the question].

Another recent major work on the Khazars is that of D. M. Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars* (Princeton, 1954). Prof. Dunlop, who is an Arabist, has examined all the available source material on the Khazars with particular attention to the Arab sources (from which he has provided the reader with many excellent translations). With his knowledge of Semitic languages, Dunlop has demonstrated the basic authenticity of the Khazar–

Hebrew correspondence and finally settled this question. The work also contains a very thorough account of the Arab–Khazar wars based largely on Dunlop's analysis of the relevant Arabic sources. Dunlop's gathering together and presentation in a systematic fashion of all the Arab accounts on the Khazars by itself was a very important milestone for Khazar studies. The author, however, is not a Turkologist and as a consequence little was done in the area of Khazar linguistics (the Arab accounts give many Khazar words) and comparative Khazar–Turkic studies (the Arab sources offer us the best pictures of Khazar life and institutions). Yet, the narrative of Khazar history presented by Dunlop is certainly the best done given the source material available to us.

Further Tasks of Khazar Studies

There are several major areas where much work remains to be done. Foremost among these is the search for new materials in Khazar. There are two areas where this can be done: (*i*) The documents of the Cairo Geniza which has already produced two Khazar documents (the Cambridge Document and the new Khazar letter from the Khazar Jewish community in Kiev[40]). There are doubtless more such documents to be found in the scattered remains of this collection and it will be the task of some scholar with a knowledge of both Hebrew and the Altaic world to carry on this investigation. (*ii*) Soviet archaeologists have recently discovered a number of Turkic runic inscriptions on pottery and other artifacts found in the Don and North Caucasian steppe area. It may well turn out that future investigations will show that some of these runes are Khazar.[41]

[40] The letter was discovered and has been worked on by Professors N. Golb (Chicago) and O. Pritsak (Harvard). I have been given to understand that the results of their researches are to appear in Pritsak's forthcoming book on the Ruś. The document, also housed in Cambridge University, contains a brief notation in a form of Turkic runic script in the lower left-hand corner. I have personally examined the document in Cambridge and possess a photograph of it.

[41] M. I. Artamonov, "Belaia Veža" *Sovetskaia Arxeologiia* XVI (1952); A. M. Ščerbak, "Neskol'ko slov o priëmax čteniia runičeskix nadpisei, naidennyx na Donu" *Sovetskaia Arxeologiia* XIX (1954); A. M. Ščerbak, "Znaki na keramike i kirpičax iz Sarkela-Beloi Veži" *Materialy i Issledovaniia po arxeologii SSSR*, No. 75 (1959); A. M. Ščerbak, "Les inscriptions inconnues sur pierres de Khoumara (au Caucase du Nord) et le problème de l'alphabet runique des Turcs Occidentaux" *AOH* XV, (1962).

Another area for investigation is Hungary. The whole question of the Qabar–Hungarian symbiosis must be examined. Concurrently with this, Z. Gombocz's classic work, *Die bulgarisch-türkischen Lehnwörter in der ungarischen Sprache (BTL)* must be re-examined to see if some of these words may not be of Khazar origin.[41a] A definitive study of Turkic place-names in Hungary with special attention to Khazar and Qabar names is needed.

Khazar relations with the peoples of the North Caucasus (always a difficult area) must be further studied and attempts made to determine the role (if any) of the Khazars in the ethnogenesis of the Qaračays, Balqars and Qumuqs. A study of possible Khazar loanwords in Ossetian (Abaev[42] men-

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The most recent study of the entire problem of Turkic runiform scripts in Eastern Europe is that of Németh [J. Németh, "The Runiform Inscriptions from Nagy Szent-Miklós and the Runiform Scripts of Eastern Europe" *Acta Linguistica* 21 (1971), pp. 1–52]. Németh divides the Turkic runiform scripts into two major categories: *Asian* (found in the Talas region and areas east, up to and including Mongolia and employing a uniform system of writing) and *European* (found in the Talas region and Eastern Europe: Volga, Don, North Caucasus, Rumania, Hungary etc.). The European scripts are not uniform showing conciderable divergences from the Asian, as well as from each other. The Hungarian *rovásírás* betrays a distinctly more Asian character (it also has letters of Greek and Glagolitic origin). The Hungarian and Pečeneg runiform scripts have been deciphered (there are, of course, still a number of problems). The Khazar script has yet to be deciphered. Németh notes: ". . . we can say at most that there is a strikingly large number of agreements between the signs of the Turkic script and the signs of the yet undeciphered Khazar script" (pp. 48–49).

Apparently a number of runiform scripts were in use within the confines of the Khazar Empire, not all of them for noting Turkic languages. Németh is optimistic in his outlook regarding their decipherment, since new material is coming to light (he mentions some recently discovered Volga inscriptions).

[41a] The re-evaluation of the Gombocz data with respect to the larger questions associated with the successive impacts of Oğur and Common Turkic speakers on Hungarian and the criteria to be used for distinguishing between the different "layers" has been in progress for several decades. In particular, *see* L. Ligeti, "A török szókészlet története és török jövevényszavaink. Gyöngy" *MNy*, XLII (1946), pp. 1–17 and his most recent, wide-ranging discussions of this complex question: "Régi török jövevényszavaink etimológiai problémái" in *Az etimológia elmélete és módszere, Nyelvtudományi Értekezések*, 89 (1976), pp. 193–199 and "A magyar nyelv török kapcsolatai és ami körülöttük van" *MNy*, LXXII (1976), pp. 11–27, 129–136. New and important data on this and related problems has been presented by T. Halasi-Kun in "Kipchak Philology and the Turkic Loanwords in Hungarian, I" *AEMAe* I (1975), pp. 155–210. For a synopsis of the views on the dating of the Oğuric elements, *see* K. Czeglédy, "Etimológia és filológia" in *Az etimológia elmélete és módszere, Nyelvtudományi Értekezések*, 89 (1976), pp. 82–89.

[42] V. I. Abaev, "Drevneevreiskie elementy v osetinskom" in his *Osetinskii iazyk i fol'klor* (Moskva–Leningrad, 1949).

tions two Hebrew loanwords in Ossetian — perhaps via the Khazars? Both words pertain to religion) is also needed.

Always useful are new editions of our sources (especially Arabic, Armenian and Byzantine) based on newly uncovered manuscripts or simply a re-examination of those formerly used. Along with this, we must wait for further excavations by Soviet archaeologists in the hope that Atil/Itil will be discovered.

Finally, a thorough-going examination of the Khazar "Sprachreste" found in the Arab, Persian, Armenian, Georgian, Old Russian, Hebrew, Byzantine and Hungarian sources must be undertaken. It is the purpose of this work to focus on just this task. A complete survey of the fragments of the Khazar language has never been undertaken.[43] Although such a survey will obviously (as it is based on fragmentary evidence) not answer all our questions in regard to the ethnic background of the Khazars; it will, hopefully, end much of the speculation that has arisen from incorrect readings of Khazar words. Chapter One of this work will give a brief sketch of Turkic inroads into the South Russian and North Caucasian steppes prior to the advent of the Khazars. Chapters Two and Three will give an outline of Khazar history and institutions (Khazar political history has already been amply covered by Dunlop and Artamonov; a short sketch here will be adequate for our purposes). Chapter Four, the Khazar Word List, will form the major part of this work.

[43] According to the Soviet turkologist Baskakov [N. A. Baskakov, *Vvedenie v izučenie tiurkskix iazykov*, 2nd. ed. (Moskva, 1969), p. 237 n. 3], S. M. Šapšal had compiled a Khazar wordlist in his apparently unpublished article "Xazary i ix iazyk" the ms. of which is in the Institut Istorii Litvy Akademii Nauk Litovskoi SSR. Baskakov cites a number of these words some in garbled form, others (such as *Buyuk* = **büyük*, *Bek-Tarluv* etc.) are not found in any of the sources. A. Krymśkyi's, "Prolegomena do istorii xazariv, zvidky vony vzialysia i iaka ix mova" *Movoznavstvo* (1941) has, likewise, despite many efforts, remained inaccessible to me.

CHAPTER ONE

PRE-KHAZAR TURKIC INROADS IN EUROPE

The history of the Khazars can be understood only when placed in its proper historical setting. The Khazars formed one link in a chain of nomadic incursions forged in the steppes of Asia that ultimately made its way into Eastern Europe. It is in this context that we must view them. It is not our purpose here, however, to give a complete history of all the nomadic peoples who preceded the Khazars in their thrust westward. Rather, the following will be a brief account of these peoples with emphasis given to specific topics (linguistic affinities, aspects of material culture etc.) which have a bearing on and help elucidate Khazar history.

Political formations in the Altaic steppes are marked by a series of contradictions. On the one hand, there is the principle of legitimacy, the sanctity of the royal clan, the "divine right of kings" (this is clearly seen in the Orxon inscriptions: *tängritäg tängridä bolmiš Türk Bilgä qaġan . . . tängri yarlıqaduqın üčün, özüm qutum bar üčün, qaġan olurtum*[44] — "I, the Heaven-like and Heaven-conceived Bilgä (Wise) Qaġan of the Türk . . . because the Heavens granted (it thus), because I myself had good fortune I became Qaġan"), the religious as well as political significance of the Qaġan. In addition, there is a hierarchy, a system of succession, a bureaucracy, a tax system, a highly organized military structure. In short, all the prerequisites for permanency. On the other hand, scholars continually note the ephemeral quality of many of the tribal unions and empires of the Altaic world and speak of the centrifugal tendencies of the constituent tribes. Seemingly, in spite of having all the attributes of permanency, the Altaic, nomadic state vanished with the same speed with which it came into being. This is both true and false. The states do indeed vanish, but the people, organized

[44] There are many partial or full editions of the Orxon texts. The most recent can be found in T. Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic* (Bloomington, Indiana–The Hague, Netherlands, 1968), pp. 231–232. For the text in Turkic runic script, *see* S. E. Malov, *Pamiatniki drevnetiurkskoi pis'mennosti* (Moskva–Leningrad, 1951), pp. 19–20. The classic edition is that of W. Thomsen, *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon déchiffrées* in *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* V (1896). The most recent edition of the Runic text is: G. Aidarov, *Iazyk orxonskix pamiatnikov drevnetiurkskoi pis'mennosti VIII veka* (Alma-ata, 1971).

in clans and tribes, do not. The clans and tribes regroup, members of the old dynasty are found or new dynasties come into being, new tribes are added [the tribes themselves may break up, scatter and form new units — an example of this can be seen in the clan names of some of the present day Altay Turks: *Tölös* (= Anc. Turk. *Teles*), *Qıpčaq*, *Qırgıs* (cf. Medieval *Qıpčaq* and present day *Qırgız*), *Tirgeš* (= Anc. Turk. *Türgeš*) and others found among the *Telengüt*, *Altay kiži* and *Tuba* tribes[45]] and a new political force frequently with a new name (sometimes reflecting the circumstances in which the new grouping came about — perhaps such is the case with the Qabars — or some other characteristic of the new "nation" — such is the case with the Bulğars) is "suddenly" born.[46] The people, then, remain, the state structure dissolves and is re-formed; what changes is the name and sometimes the dynasty. Ample evidence of these observations will be presented in the course of this work.

The Huns

The first Altaic group to penetrate Europe (and interestingly enough the one to leave the most lasting impression) were the Huns.[47] The name Hun can best be explained on the basis of Turkic or, in any event, Altaic linguistics: *Hun* = Turk. *kün* ("people"), Mong. *kümün* ("man").[48] An analysis of the Hunnic language is made difficult by two factors: (*i*) the very few remnants of Hunnic found in our sources, (*ii*) the multi-national character of the Hunnic tribal union, to which, aside from Altaians, Goths, Alans and perhaps Slavs and others were joined in a fashion typical of

[45] N. A. Baskakov, *Altayskii iazyk* (Moskva, 1958), p. 28. On the role of the "charismatic clan", *see* the recent discussion of L. R. Kyzlasov, *Istoriia Tuvy v srednie veka* (Moskva, 1969), pp. 92–93.

[46] *See* Németh, *HMK*, pp. 39, 95–97, 223, 236–8.

[47] The question as to whether these Huns are the same as the Hiung-nu has been much debated. L. Ligeti in his "Az ázsiai hunok" [in *Attila és hunjai*, ed. Gy. Németh (Budapest, 1940), pp. 59–60] puts forward the view that one group of the Hiung-nu broke off from the main body and went West. These became the Huns of our Latin and Byzantine sources. *See also* R. Grousset, *L'empire des steppes* (Paris, 1960), pp. 70–77; B. Ögel, *İslâmiyetten önce Türk kültürü tarihi* (Ankara, 1962), Chap. III. The most recent study of this complex subject can be found in K. Czeglédy, *Nomád népek vándorlása napkelettől napnyugatig* (Budapest, 1969).

[48] Németh, "A hunok nyelve" in *Attila és hunjai*, p. 225. Németh also notes the kinship of this word with Finno-Ugric: Hung. *hím*, Vog. *xum*, Züry. *komi*, Samoyed. *kum*, *kume*. *See* Németh, *HMK*, p. 147.

the nomadic state. The names of the bulk of the Hunnic chieftains appear, however, to be Turkic.[49] The fortunes of Attila's empire in the West are of little concern to us. Events which have a bearing on Khazar history take place only after Attila's death, when elements of the Huns led now by Hernac/Irnek [Ellac, Attila's oldest son and onetime ruler of the Akatziroi, died at the battle of Nedao [454] which marked the breaking away of the non-Altaic peoples from the Hunnic tribal union] return to the Pontic steppes.[50] The Akatziroi (they are described by Jordanes as: "gens Acatzirorum fortissima, frugum ignara, quae pecoribus et venationibus victitat"[51] — Marquart suggests an Ugrian origin[52]) were the first of the former Hun constituencies to be absorbed by a new force in the Pontic steppe: the Oğur Turks.[53]

[49] *Oibarsius* (*Aybars), *Mundiuchos* (*Munjuq), *Kreka/Rekan* (*Arığqan), *Ellac* (*Ilik), *Ernach/Hernac/Irnik* (*Er-nik), *Dengizix* (= Turkic *Tengiz-Deniz) and other words are Turkic. *See* Németh, "A hunok nyelve" in *Attila és hunjai*, pp. 222–225.

[50] *See* Priscus in *Dexippi, Eunapii, Petri Patricii, Prisci, Malchi, Menandri historiarum quae supersunt*, ed. I. Bekker, B. G. Niebuhr (Bonnae, 1829), pp. 181–182; Jordanes, *Getica (Iordan, O proisxoždenii i deianiiax getov)*, Latin text, Russ. trans. ed. E. Č. Skržinskaia (Moskva, 1960), pp. 172–173. Jordanes reports that after the death of Ellac, the Huns led by Ellac's surviving brothers, retreated to the western Pontic steppes: "reliqui vero germani eius (Ellac p. g.) eo occiso fugantur iuxta litus Pontici Maris..." The formerly Hunnic territories of Dacia were taken by the victorious Gepids and the Goths asked for and received Pannonia from the Byzantine Emperor. Other tribes (the Sciri, Sadagarii and parts of the Alans) were given Scythia Minor and Lower Moesia. Elements of the Huns were able, evidently, to return to certain Danubian areas. Hernac, Attila's younger son, together with his horde, took lands in the East of Scythia Minor ("Hernac iunior Attilae filius cum suis in extrema minoris Scythiae sedes delegit"). Other Hunnic groups made their way back to Dacia and the territory called Romania (*see* Jordanes, *Getica*, ed. Skržinskaia, pp. 173–174). Rásonyi [L. Rásonyi, *Dünya Tarihinde Türklük* (henceforward abbreviated as: *DTT*) (Ankara, 1942), p. 58 and his recent work *Tarihte Türklük* (Ankara, 1971), p. 72] is of the opinion that the Huns under Attila's sons were prevented from returning to the east, as they wanted, by disturbances in the steppe caused by the Avars. They remained, thus, Danube-oriented. This perhaps explains Hernac's settlement "in extrema minoris Scythiae." Hunnic elements undoubtedly remained in the eastern parts of the Pontic steppes. Others probably returned immediately after Ellac's death. Later, we will encounter "Huns" in the North Causasus. These North Caucasian Huns of the 7th century were probably remnants of the tribes that remained in the Pontic steppes and later fled to the North Caucasus with the coming of the Kök Türks.

[51] Jordanes, *Getica*, ed. Skržinskaia, p. 136. The Turkic etymology Akatzir = *Ağač-eri presents a number of problems. For a further discussion of the Akatzirs and the Akatziro–Khazar question *see* Chapter Two of this work.

[52] Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 45.

[53] There is considerable confusion in the terminology used for the various Turkic peoples. In this work, I have tried to systematize the designations followed by scholars

The Oğur Turks

The appearance of the Oğur Turks in Europe was brought about by a series of events in Central Asia. Priscus has given us a glimpse of what happened. He writes that sometime around 463 A. D. the *Šarağurs *(Σαράγουροι)*, Urog *(Οὖρωγοι = *ὠγούροι)* and Onoğurs *('Ονόγουροι)* had been driven out of their homes in Western Siberia and the Qazaq steppe[54] by the Sabirs *(Σαβίρων)*, who had in turn been expelled from their homes by the Avars *('Αβάρεις)*. The *Šarağurs conquered the Akatzirs and probably incorporated them into their tribe.[55] Henceforward, the Akatzirs are no longer mentioned in our sources. The *Šarağurs were quickly drawn into the Byzantine diplomatic orbit and sent to war against the Persians.[56] Shortly after this their name disappears from the Byzantine sources (the

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in accordance with linguistic and historical considerations. The Oğur Turks are often called the Western Turks, the Bulgaric Turks or the "Lir" speaking Turks. None of these terms are satisfactory. Moreover, they are frequently confusing. Briefly stated, then, by the term Oğur Turks, I mean the Šarağur, Onoğur, Uturğur, Quturğur, Oğur and Bulğar (the Turkic Bulğars, not the Balkan Slavs to whom they gave their name following their conquest of that area in the late seventh century) tribes. The use of this particular designation is not original with me. Moravcsik [Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* (Berlin, 1958) I, p. 65] has "Ogurenvölker." Others (Németh et al.), have used the ethnonym *Oğur* in a generic sense. These Turks were distinguished from the other Turks by differences in their speech (as this has considerable importance for the Khazar question, Oğur Turkic will be discussed in some detail later on) and to some degree in their way of life (greater emphasis on agriculture, excellent skills in erecting fortifications). The tribal name Oğur is, in my view, the Oğuric Turkic form of Oğuz (*see* Németh, *HMK*, p. 107). There is no settled etymology for the terms Oğur/Oğuz. Németh (*HMK*, p. 44) derives it from the word *oq* ("arrow"). As we shall see below, the Western Kök Türks were divided into *oqs* (the *onoq*). Kononov [*Rodoslovnaia Turkmen* (Moskva–Leningrad, 1958), p. 89] suggests: *oğ* (= "clan," "tribe") related to the terms of kinship in *oğ (oğ-ul, oğ-uš)* and *ög* ("mother" *cf. öksüz* — "orphan" = motherless). *See also* D. Sinor, "Oğuz Kağan destanı üzerinde bazı mülâhazalar" *Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi. Türk Dili ve Edebiyat Dergisi*, IV (1950). I tend rather to favor Kononov's suggestion. For a full discussion, *see* Golden, "The Migrations of the Oğuz" *Archivum Ottomanicum*, IV (1972). Oğur-Oğuz should be translated as "tribal union".

[54] Németh, *HMK*, pp. 111–112; Moravcsik, "Zur Geschichte der Onoguren" *UJb*, X (1930), pp. 54–60; Halasi-Kun, "A magyarság kaukázusi története" in *MŐT*, pp. 71–72; Czeglédy, *Nomád népek vándorlása*, pp. 90–93. *See also* there for his identification of the Oğurs with the T'ie-lē.

[55] Priscus, (Bonn ed.), p. 158; Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 43; Németh, *HMK*, p. 98.

[56] Priscus, (Bonn ed.), p. 161. *Σαράγουροι* = *Šarağur "yellow/white Oğurs" (*Šarığ Oğur). For the literature on the subject *see* Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, pp. 267–268.

Syriac *Ecclesiastical History* ascribed to Zacharias Rhetor mentions them — "Sirurgur" — in a notice about the nomadic peoples living north of the Caucasus c. 555.[57] Their appearance here, however, is probably an anachronism. Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor received his information from a Middle Persian source which, in turn, was based on some earlier Byzantine source[58]). It is very possible, as has been suggested,[59] that the *Šarağur union broke up and regrouped to form the Uturğurs and Quturğurs. The latter appear in Byzantine sources under the generic heading of *Οὖννοι*, Huns. Agathias, in this regard, notes the following: "The Huns *(Οὖννοι)* are the people who formerly lived east of the Maeotis and north of the Tanais [Don p. g.] river . . . And all of them [the barbarian peoples p. g.] are called, in general, Scythians [classicizing on the part of Agathias p. g.] and Huns and in particular, according to their nation; thus some are *Quturğurs *(Κοτριγουροι)* or *Uturğur [*Οὐτίγουροι* for variants of these ethnonyms, *see* Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, pp. 171–172 as well as the edition of Agathias cited below] and yet others are *Οὐλτίζουροι* [var. *Οὐλτίνζουροι see also* Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 230. Jordanes, *Getica*, ed. Skržinskaia, p. 175 mentions the Ultzinzures amongst the subject tribes of Dintzic, i.e. Dengizic, Attila's son. The second element of this name may well be **čur* (*see below* for a discussion of this title). Thus, *Οὐλτίζουροι* = *Altı Čur? or *Οὐλτίνζουροι* = Altın Čur?] and *Βουροὐγουνδοι* and others are called as has become customary and usual for them.

Much time later, they crossed into Europe, either, in truth, the first being led by some deer as is the common talk, or taking advantage of some other bit of luck, they were then carried across (by whatever means it was) the mouth of the lake which flows into the Euxine Sea [Black Sea p. g.] which had hitherto been thought impossible. And wandering about, they destroyed many of the older, established peoples *(θαγενές)*, falling upon them unexpectedly (and) as they drove out the former inhabitants, they took their land . . ."[60]

[57] *Die sogenannte Kirchengeschichte des Zacharias Rhetor*, trans. K. Ahrens, G. Krüger (Leipzig, 1899), p. 253. Henceforward given as Zacharias Rhetor, *Kirchengeschichte*.

[58] Czeglédy, "Bemerkungen zur Geschichte der Chazaren" *AOH*, XIII (1961), pp. 243–244. The *X.s.r* who likewise appear here and are connected by some scholars [Z. V. Togan, "Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht" *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XXIV/3 (1939), p. XXXI] with the Khazars are identified by others with the Akatzirs. *See* below.

[59] Halasi-Kun, "A magyarság kaukázusi története" in *MÖT*, p. 80.

[60] For Agathias, *see* new edition: *Agathiae Myrinaei Historiarum libri quinque*, ed. R. Keydell in *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*, series Berolinensis, vol. II (Berlin, 1967), pp. 176–177.

From this point on, the Oğur Turkic peoples become a decisive force in the steppes. Appearing under a variety of names that change with the rise and fall of new tribal unions (names such as Uturğur = "Thirty Oğurs" or "Thirty Tribes", Onoğur = "Ten Oğurs" no doubt point to the number of tribes entering these unions), the Oğur Turkic peoples controlled the North Caucasian, Caspian-Pontic and Danubian steppe-lands. In 480 these Turks, called *Bulğars* by John of Antioch, were brought in by the Emperor Zeno to fight his erstwhile Gothic friends.[61] This is one of the earliest notices on the ethnonym *Bulğar*. The "Bulğars" mentioned here, as Rásonyi notes, may well have been the Quturğurs.[62] The latter, living in the region west of the Sea of Azov along with their kinsmen the Uturğurs (who lived east of the Sea of Azov), now begin to play an important role in Byzantine affairs. In 530 Quturğurs (Quturğur = *Toqur Oğur? the "Nine Oğurs"[63]) are found serving in Byzantine armies in Italy. These nomads, however, proved on occasion to be unreliable instruments for the execution of Imperial policy. When, in the middle of the sixth century, the Quturğurs along with their allies the Gepids posed a serious threat to Byzantine Balkan possessions, the Empire contrived to turn the Uturğurs against their brothers (Menander notes that the Quturğurs and Uturğurs speak the same language and lead the same kind of life)[64] and thereby precipitated a terrible slaughter of both peoples. The two peoples were so decimated by the war that, reduced to poverty, scattered bands of them took service with other tribes and in so doing adopted the name of those tribes.[65] This did not mean the complete breakup of the tribal union. When the Avars swept into the Pontic steppes in 558 they conquered the sorry remnants of these two peoples.[66] The Quturğurs went with their overlords the Avars to Pannonia where we hear

[61] J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire* (reprint: New York, 1958), I, p. 421; Rásonyi, *DTT*, p. 75; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, I, p. 314.

[62] Rásonyi, *DTT*, p. 75.

[63] Németh, *HMK*, p. 91; V. F. Gening, A. X. Xalikov, *Rannie bolgary na Volge* (Moskva, 1964), p. 109; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, I, p. 66.

[64] Menander in *Dexippi, Eunapii, Petri Patricii, Prisci, Malchi, Menandri historiarum quae supersunt*, ed. I. Bekker, B. G. Niebuhr (Bonnae, 1829), p. 345. Henceforward given as Menander (Bonn ed.). *See also* Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *Excerpta de Legationibus*, ed. C. de Boor (Berlin, 1903) henceforward given as Menander (ed. de Boor).

[65] Agathias (ed. Keydell, pp. 195–197) gives the letter sent by Justinian to *Σάνδιλχος*, ruler of the Uturğurs, inciting him to attack the Quturğurs. *See also* Procopius, *De Bello Gothico*, ed. W. Dindorf (Bonnae, 1833–1838), pp. 553, 555–556 for activities of *Σανδίλ* (= *Σάνδιλχος* of Agathias).

[66] Zacharias Rhetor, *Kirchengeschichte*, p. 253.

of a prince called *ὁ Κοτράγηρος*.[67] Evidently not all of the Quturğurs migrated with the Avars to the Pannonian plains; elements of them, it seems, remained in their old homeland. Thus, in 598, Theophylactus Simocatta speaks of the *Κοτζαγηροί*[68] (this may be a garbling of Quturğur) who together with the Tarniax and Zabender later fled the Kök Türks and joined the Avars. The Uturğurs, however, remained in their old homeland and were conquered by the Kök Türks. The Oğurs *(Οὐγούροι)* proper suffered a similar fate in 569.[69] The continual state of flux which the steppe was experiencing at this time, with its ebb and flow of peoples, is seen clearly in Agathias' statement about the Ultizuri and Burugundi about whom we know next to nothing: "The Ultizuri and Burugundi were considered powerful and famous up to the time of the Emperor Leo and the Romans who lived in that time. We who live now (Agathias died in 582 p.g.) do not know them and I think we never shall, for they have either perished or have settled in very distant places."[70]

Another important Oğur Turkic people who emerge at this time only to disappear and reappear later are the Onoğurs. From the 460's when they first become known until the end of the seventh century, the Onoğurs lived in the North Caucasian steppes east of the Sea of Azov (Maeotis), near the Kuban. Theophylactus Simocatta mentions them in this area and speaks of their city *βαχάθ* which was destroyed by an earthquake. Jordanes notes that they trade in marten skins. The Onoğurs, like their Oğur kinsmen, were incorporated into the West Kök Türkic empire in the latter third of the sixth century (c. 576).[71] They later formed an important part of the

[67] Menander, ed. de Boor, p. 443, Kotragēros = *Kotrıguros (*Qutrıgur). Tribal names are often used as personal names.

[68] Theophylactus Simocatta, *Historia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonnae, 1834), p. 260. Theophylactus says they are of *Οὰρ-Χουννί* origin as are also the *Ὀγώρ* in his account. *See also* Marquart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 44–45 for a general discussion of these ethnonyms. For the *Var-Hunni *see* Czeglédy, *Nomád népek*, esp. Chaps. IV–VI.

[69] Menander (Bonn ed.), pp. 401, 301; Theophylactus Simocatta (Bonn ed.), p. 283.

[70] Agathias, ed. Keydell, p. 177.

[71] *See* Jordanes, *Getica*, ed. Skržinskaia, p. 136 and Moravcsik, "Zur Geschichte der Onoguren" *UJb*, X (1930), pp. 61, 65. Theophylactus Simocatta (Bonn ed.), pp. 284, 286. For a general survey of literature on the Onoğurs, *see* Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, pp. 219–220. Czeglédy (*Nomád népek*, p. 92) on the basis of the Iranian (Soğdian) ending *-kath*, places *Bakath* on the border of Soğdian–Onoğur lands (on the southern border of Onoğur territory), probably around the middle course of the Sır Daryā. Marquart [J. Markwart, "Kultur- und sprachgeschichtliche Analekten" *UJb*, IX (1929), p. 90] emends *Βαχάθ* to **Βναχάθ* = Binākath 'Hauptstadt' [*cf. Binkath* (= Taškent) and *Banākath* of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* (ed. trans. Minorsky, pp. 118, 357)].

Bulğar state founded by Qobrat (Nicephorus calls Qobrat the lord of the Unnogundur.[72] Unnogundur is simply a variant of the name Onoğur[73]) in the first third of the seventh century.[74] The Onoğurs were also part of the Bulğar tribes that went with Asparux from Magna Bulgaria to Moesia in 679 following their expulsion from their homeland by the Khazars. The presence of the Onoğurs among the Bulğars can be seen in the fact that Agathon Diaconus[75] calls the Bulğars who invaded Thrace under Tervel "Unnogundur Bulğars".

The Oğur Turks, as we have seen from this very brief survey, with their arrival in the middle of the fifth century became a new and very important ethnic factor in the composition of the Ponto-Caspian steppe. In kaleidoscope fashion, their tribal unions are formed, decompose and re-form in very brief periods of time. It is also quite likely that these Oğur newcomers mixed with the remnants of the Huns, who were themselves a mixture of several Turkic (and perhaps other Altaic?) peoples. Byzantine sources as we have seen refer to these tribes in general as "Huns".[76] Armenian sources (Movsēs Dasxuranc'i in particular) do likewise. Later, we shall find a group of Huns in the North Caucasus who are part of the Khazar state.[77] These scattered and ethnically varied tribes were, in the course of the first third of the seventh century, organized into a great tribal confederacy: the Bulğars (the name Bulğar means "mixed" and clearly points to the variety of the tribes who entered the confederation).[78]

The Sabirs

Before moving on to a discussion of the Bulğar tribes proper, it is essential that we first introduce some of the other Turkic peoples whose history is intimately connected with that of the Khazars. We have already encoun-

[72] Nicephorus Patriarcha, *Breviarium rerum post Mauricium gestarum*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonnae, 1837), p. 27.

[73] Perhaps with the collective suffix *du-r*, as suggested by Pritsak? (O. Pritsak, "Stammesnamen und Titulaturen der altaischen Völker" *UAJb*, XXIV (1952), p. 74. *See also* Németh, *HMK*, p. 59.

[74] Moravcsik, "Zur Geschichte der Onoguren" *UJb*, X (1930), pp. 63–66, 72–73.

[75] Moravcsik, "Zur Geschichte der Onoguren" *UJb*, X (1930), pp. 72–73; Németh, *HMK*, p. 181; Halasi-Kun, "A magyarság kaukázusi története" in *MŐT*, p. 86.

[76] Agathias, ed. Keydell, p. 177; Rásonyi, *DTT*, pp. 74–75.

[77] Movsēs Dasxuranc'i, *History of the Caucasian Albanians*, trans. C. Dowsett (London, 1961), pp. 160, 164–168.

[78] Németh, *HMK*, pp. 95–97; Gening, Xalikov, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

tered the Sabirs who played such a great role in the events of 463 which brought the Oğur Turks to Europe. The Sabirs, who probably came from Central Asia, occupied parts of Western Siberia (their name figures in the toponymics of the area and indeed may be seen in the word Siberia itself).[79] By 515 we find elements of them in the Caucasus–Don–Volga triangle where they play an important part in Byzantium's Persian wars. The martial arts were highly developed amongst them. Procopius tells us that they constructed excellent siege machinery. Malalas notes that they had an army of 100,000.[80] Though the Sabirs not infrequently switched sides in the exhausting Persian–Byzantine wars,[81] they generally favored the Byzantines. This was an important precedent; for it laid the basis for the later Khazar–Byzantine alliance. Armenian and Arabic sources (Movsēs Xorenacʿi, Ibn Xurdādhbih, Ibn al-Faqīh) also know of the Sabirs (*Savirkʿ* in Armenian, *Suwār* in Arabic) and place them in the North Caucasus, in proximity to the kings of the Lakz, the Alans, Filān, Masqat, the Sāḥib as-Sarīr and the Khazar town of Samandar.[82] The North Caucasian Suwār should certainly be connected with the Suwār/Suwāz Ibn Faḍlān found in Volga Bulğaria.[83] With the coming of the Avars into Europe in 558, the North Caucasian Sabir union was dealt a heavy blow from which it never recovered. The name Sabir disappears from the Byzantine sources. These Sabirs, as will be discussed in the section of this work dealing with the ethnogenesis

[79] Németh, *HMK*, pp. 183–186; Artamonov, *op. cit.*, p. 65. *See also* the interesting article of S. Patkanov, "Über das Volk der Sabiren" *Keleti Szemle* (1900), pp. 258–277 who attributes (mistakenly in our view) a Finno-ugric origin to the Sabirs. W. B. Henning ["A Farewell to the Khagan of the Aq-Aqatārān" *BSOAS*, XIV (1952), p. 502] believes he has found a reference to the Sabirs (S'. pyry = Sabir-ē) in a later Soğdian document, placing them in "the neighborhood of Turfan."

[80] Procopius, *De Bello Gothico*, IV, 11; Io. Malalas, *Chronographia*, ed. L. Dindorf (Bonnae, 1831), pp. 430–431; Rásonyi, *DTT*, p. 63.

[81] Agathias, ed. Keydell, p. 139.

[82] Movsēs Xorenacʿi, *Géographie de Moïse de Corène*, ed. trans. A. Soukry (Venice, 1881), p. 27; Ibn Xurdādhbih, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik* (Liber viarum et regnorum), ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1889), p. 124; Ibn Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, p. 297; T. Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny* (Wrocław–Kraków, 1956), I, pp. 116–117.

[83] Al-Mokaddesī (Al-Muqaddasī), *Descriptio imperii moslemici* (= Aḥsan at-Taqāsīm fī Maʿrīfat al-Aqālīm), ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1906), p. 355; Ibn Faḍlān (Kovalevskii), p. 138. *See also* Maḥmūd al-Kāšğarī who points out certain linguistic features shared by Oğuz, Volga Suwār and Qıpčaq in his time, the eleventh century. Maḥmūd al-Kāšğarī, *Divanü Lügat-it-Türk*, facsimile ed. B. Atalay (Ankara, 1941), p. 25; *Divanü Lügat-it-Türk Tercümesi*, trans. B. Atalay (Ankara, 1939), I, p. 31. It is impossible to tell, given the paucity of our sources, whether these Suwār (*Sawar, Sabar etc.)

of the Khazars, were most probably incorporated into the Khazar tribal union. Indeed, Mas'ūdī, in somewhat garbled fashion, tells us that the name Khazar *(Xazar)* is Persian, in Turkic it is *Sabir*.[84] Semantically, as we shall see, the two names are very close. We know very little about the Sabir language (and hence it is difficult to classify them in the Turkic world) and what little is known (there is a special section on the Sabir language in Chapter Four of this work) would appear to be standard Turkic (as opposed to Oğuric Turkic).[85]

The Avars

The foe of the Sabirs, the people who were responsible for the migration of elements of them to the Caspian steppes were the Avars about whom considerable polemics have been waged. The focal point in these polemics has been the question who were the European Avars? Were they the Avars of Central Asia (and possibly of Mongolian origin), the Apar of the Turkic inscriptions? Are they the Žuan-Žuan? It is not our purpose here to become embroiled in these arguments and counter-arguments for they are peripheral to our theme. We may simply note that it has been argued, on the basis of Theophylactus Simocatta's report, that the European Avars were not the "real" Avars but rather Oğuric *(Οὐάρ καὶ Χουννί)* imposters.[86] More recently, K. Czeglédy has argued (persuasively in my view) for the Asiatic, i.e. "Avar" origin of the European Avars. The *Οὐάρ* and *Χουννί*, in his view were the two tribal groupings, Var (of unknown origin) and the Xuni (= Hiungnu, Hyon, Hun etc.), which formed the Avar State.[87]

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were (1) Sabirs who had gone to the North Caucasus and after 558 retreated up the Volga, (2) came there as the result of disturbances surrounding the creation of the Khazar state, or (3) were elements of the Sabirs who never went to the North Causasus but stopped on the Volga.

[84] Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb at-Tanbīh wa'l-Išrāf*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1894), p. 83.

[85] Németh, *HMK*, p. 192.

[86] *See* Theophylactus Simocatta (Bonn ed.), pp. 282–287; L. N. Gumilëv, *Drevnie tiurki* (Moskva, 1967), pp. 34–39; S. G. Kliaštornyi, *Drevnetiurkskie runičeskie pamiatniki kak istočnik po istorii Srednei Azii* (Moskva, 1964), p. 72. For a general discussion of the problem *see* H. W. Haussig, "Die Quellen über die zentralasiatische Herkunft der europäischen Awaren" *CAJ*, II (1956), pp. 21–43; W. Samolin, "Some Notes on the Avar Problem" *CAJ*, III (1957), pp. 62–65; Németh, *HMK*, pp. 101–105.

[87] *See* Czeglédy, *Nomád népek*, the bulk of which, esp. Chaps IV–VI is devoted to this question. *See also* Czeglédy's earlier "A korai kazár történelem forrásainak kritikájához" *MTA I. O. K.*, XV (1960), p. 110. For the relation of this question to the general problem of the Hephthalites et al. *see* Czeglédy, *Nomád népek*, Chap. VI, esp. pp. 84–89 and B. G. Gafurov et al., *Istoriia tadžikskogo naroda* (Moskva, 1963), I, pp. 401–416.

Regardless of their origin, the name Avar was enough to secure the newcomers a haven in Eastern Europe. With the Turks in pursuit behind them, the Avars stopped in the Volga–North Caucasian steppe area only long enough to bring some of the Oğur tribes there into their union. By 567, the Avars were already masters of Pannonia.[88] Though the Avar onslaught was furious, it left no lasting impression on the Ponto-Caspian steppes (though legends of the cruelty of the Avars to the Eastern Slavs are recorded in the Russian chronicles).[89]

We have already remarked on the haste with which the Avars sought new homes in Danubian Europe. This haste was prompted by their fear of the Kök Türks who in 568 first appear in Europe.[90] Before discussing the series of diplomatic exchanges that resulted from this Turkic advance in 568, we should glance at the history of the Kök Türks (Celestial or Blue Turks) whose rapidly expanding empire was founded only sixteen years before the events described above. The Kök Türks shall loom very large in our discussions, as it was from this milieu, that of the Western Kök Türks, that the Khazar state first emerged. It also seems very probable that the Khazar ruling dynasty was of Kök Türkic origin.

The Kök Türks

In 552 in Mongolia, the Türks (*Türk/Törük* = "strength", "power"[91]) overthrew their masters, the Žuan-žuan. Led by Bumın from the house of Ašina, who assumed the imperial title of **Ilig Qağan* (*I-li kehan* in the Chinese sources[92]) the Türks now embarked on an ambitious program of conquest. Bumın died in 552. Mu-han Qağan who took power in 553 (ruled 553–572) consolidated the hold of the Türks over Mongolia. Bumın's younger brother Ištämi (She-tie-mi) received the title of *Yabğu* and began the westward expansion of the Türks. In 554, after finishing the Žuan-žuan, he moved westward and within five years was at the Volga. This was, in effect, the beginning of the Western Kök Türk Qağanate. The Hephthalites were soon crushed (565) and a budding alliance with Persia now turned to

[88] Menander (Bonn ed.), pp. 302–305.

[89] Lavrent'evskaia letopiś, *PSRL*, I, pp. 11–12; *PSRL*, IX, p. 5.

[90] E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux*, Recueillis et commentés suivi de *Notes additionelles* (Paris, 1900), p. 233.

[91] I. Kafesoğlu, "Tarihte 'Türk' adı" *Reşid Rahmeti Arat İçin*, ed. Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü (Ankara, 1966), pp. 315–317; Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen*, p. 33; Gy. Németh, "A *türk* népnév" *MNy*, XXIII (1927), pp. 271–274.

[92] Liu Mau-tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-Küe)* (Wiesbaden, 1958), I, p. 7; Kliaštornyi, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

enmity.[93] It is in connection with this that the first Türkic embassy appeared in Constantinople in 568 during the reign of Justin II.[94] The Türkic embassy was headed by Maniax, a Soğdian merchant (the Soğdians were under Türkic rule by this time) who sought both commercial (the rich silk trade was involved here) and military agreements. The Byzantines then sent an embassy to the Türks under Zemarchus who returned to Constantinople with another Türkic embassy headed this time by Tağma Tarqan.[95] The Türks wanted to quickly take the offensive against the Persians, but the Byzantines dawdled and the Türks grew angry.[96] By 576, the Byzantines were, at last, at war with the Persians and sorely in need of Türkic aid. An embassy under Valentinus was dispatched to the Türks. Somewhere near the Ural (Yayıq) river, the embassy met Turxanthos (*Τούρξανθος* — Németh suggests "Türk šad"[97]) who berated the Byzantines for their duplicity. Not content with words, Turxanthos went on to attack and conquer the Byzantine possession of Bospor in the Crimea.[98] By this time, we also see that the Alans and Uturğurs were under Kök Türk rule. An Uturğur chief, Anagaius, took part in the conquest of Bospor. According to Arab sources (Ṭabarī), the Türkic conquests also included the Abxaz (Artamonov suggests "Khazar"[99]), Banjar and Balanjar.[100] The Türks continued their war against Byzantium by raiding Lazica, a Byzantine holding in Transcaucasia. This rather one-sided Türko-Byzantine war came to an end with the outbreak of civil war (582) amongst the Kök Türks which lasted on and off until 593.[101] In 588–89, the Byzantines achieved their long-desired Türkic alliance. The Persians, however, defeated the Türks at Herat.[102] After this, the Türks apparently turned again to internal matters. In 598 an embassy

[93] *See* Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*, p. 127 and Gumilëv, *Drevnie tiurki*, pp. 34–35, 40, 45–46.

[94] Menander (Bonn ed.), p. 294; Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 233.

[95] Menander (Bonn ed.), pp. 300ff, 380ff.

[96] *Ibid.*, p. 311.

[97] Németh, *HMK*, p. 83.

[98] Menander (Bonn ed.), pp. 398, 400, 403–404; L. Ligeti, *Az ismeretlen Belső-Ázsia* (Budapest, 1940), p. 66. [Turkish translation of this work: *Bilinmiyen İç-Asya*, trans. S. Karatay, (Istanbul, 1946)]. Ligeti has an excellent discussion of the embassies.

[99] Artamonov, *Ist. Xazar*, p. 137.

[100] Menander (Bonn ed.), pp. 403–4; Ṭabarī, *Kitāb Axbār ar-Rasūl wa'l Mulūk (Annales quos scripsit Abu Djafar Mohammed ibn Djarīr at-Ṭabarī)*, ed. M. J. de Goeje et al. (Leiden, 1879–1901), I, pp. 895, 896. *See also* T. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden* (Leiden, 1879), p. 159.

[101] Theophylactus Simocatta (Bonn ed.), p. 285; Artamonov, *op. cit.*, p. 138; Gumilëv, *Drevnie tiurki*, Chap. IX.

[102] Ṭabarī, *Annales*, I, p. 992; Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, pp. 268–272.

arrived at Constantinople, to the emperor Mauricius, to inform him that the Türks had fully recovered from their internal difficulties. The Oğurs under Türkic rule had attempted to revolt, but this rebellion had been crushed. As a result, a number of Oğur tribes (the Tarniax, Kotzager and Zabender) had fled to the Avars.[103]

In spite of their boastful tones, the power of the Türks was waning. The myth of a united Western Kök Türk empire was shattered. Throughout the period 582–603, there was continual civil war in the qağanate. By the early 630's the break up of the Western Kök Türks was complete. They were now divided into two waring factions : Nu-shi-pi and the Tu-lu (Dulo). Both of these groups combined were known as the *Onoq* (the "ten arrows" or "ten tribes"). The power of the Western Kök Türks in Eastern Europe had ended. The empire receded back into the steppes of Central Asia where its remnants held out until 766 when the Qarluqs crushed them.[104]

The legacy of the Kök Türks in Eastern Europe was profound and long-lasting. They organized the scattered Oğur and other Turkic tribes of the Ponto-Caspian steppes. The Turkic states that arose out of the ashes of this westernmost part of the Kök Türkic empire, received their administrative systems, titulature and royal dynasties from the Kök Türks (the Ašina gave the Khazars their dynasty, the Tu-lu/Dulo, which also may have been a Hiung-nu royal clan,[105] gave the Bulğars their royal family). We shall have occasion to return to this topic when discussing Khazar words of Kök Türkic origin. It would be helpful, however, to look now at some of the institutions of the Kök Türks, especially those features which were also present among the Khazars. Paramount among these is the institution of the dual kingship. Alföldi, who has investigated this institution in depth, has noted its presence among the Huns, Kök Türks (Eastern and Western), Khazars and Uyğurs. Elements of it, as we have already noted, can be seen amongst the early Hungarians. He suggests that it originated out of the division of the army into two wings (left and right).[106]

[103] Theophylactus Simocatta (Bonn ed.), pp. 285–286.

[104] Gumilëv, *Drevnie tiurki*, p. 133; Kliaštornyi, *op. cit.*, pp. 21–22; Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*, pp. 141–142; Liu Mau-tsai, *op. cit.*, II, p. 605; Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen*, p. 41. For the Qarluqs *see* O. Pritsak, "Von den Karluk zu den Karachaniden" *ZDMG*, 101 (1951).

[105] O. Pritsak, *Die bulgarische Fürstenliste und die Sprache der Protobulgaren* (Wiesbaden, 1955), pp. 38, 64.

[106] A. Alföldi, "Türklerde çift krallık" in *İkinci Türk Tarih Kongresi Istanbul 20–25 eylül 1937* (Istanbul, 1943), pp. 507–508. An opposing view [*see* G. Róheim, "A kazár nagyfejedelem és a turulmonda" *Ethnographia*, 28 (1917), pp. 58ff] sees in the Khazar dual kingship a reflection of the sacral character of the Qağan.

The state formed by the Turkic tribal union was called the *el*. Giraud translates this term as "empire" or "imperium", though it means "état".[107]

Pritsak has outlined the character of the Turkic tribal federation which he divides into four main groups: (1) The ruling tribes and the noble tribes allied to them (the "Schwägerstämme" = "bäčänäg"/"kürgen" of the Turks and Mongols) — it is from the "Schwägerstämme" that the royal tribe usually takes its wives. The noble tribes were ruled by members of the dynasty. Pritsak cites as examples of these noble tribes the Toquz Oğuz of the Eastern Kök Türks, the Onoq of the Western Kök Türks, the Üčoq of the Qarluqs, the Toquz Oğuz and On Uyğur of the Uyğurs. (2) Those tribes that freely join the federation — they are allowed to retain their own rulers (although the royal clan usually has an "overseer" present.) Their nobility is replaced by a new one from the ruling tribe. (3) The vassals who pay tribute (these very often are "cultured" peoples, i.e. sedentary peoples such as the Soğdians among the Kök Türks). (4) The slave tribes, i.e. those conquered by the sword.[108] The Khazar system, as we shall see, was essentially the same.

The system of succession practised among the Kök Türks sought to reduce internal bickering among the scions of the royal dynasty. It was also designed to prevent the break-away of outlying regions governed by some member of the royal family who, feeling that his chances of attaining the qağanal dignity were nil, might, as a result, seek to carve out his own kingdom. Thus, under Mu-han Qağan a system of succession was developed whereby the son did not succeed the father, but the younger brother succeeded his older brother and the oldest nephew, the younger uncle. While awaiting their turn, the princes of the blood were given specific regions to rule. This also had the merit of giving the young princes training for their future office.[109] As we have seen above, however, this system broke down and the Kök Türks were soon engulfed in a series of civil wars.

[107] R. Giraud, *L'empire des turcs célestes* (Paris, 1960), pp. 69–70. "*El* est associé dans les textes à la fois à *bodun* et à *qağan*. Bodun est . . . l'ensemble des tribus rassemblées sous l'autorité d'un même qağan. Il exprime, si l'on veut, une réalité matérielle, celle d'un nombre plus ou moins grand d'individus, groupés en tribus d'abord, en *peuple* ensuite. *El* exprime le pouvoir politique qui les régit, l'administration, l'état organisé."

[108] Pritsak, "Stammesnamen und Titulaturen der altaischen Völker" *UAJb*, XXIV (1952), pp. 52–54. Relations between the ruling tribes and the *Schwägerstämme* were not necessarily peaceful. This is particularly true of the Toquz-Oğuz [*see* F. László, "Die Tokuz-Oguz und die Köktürken" in *Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica* V (1942–1947), pp. 103–109] who were frequently at war with the Kök Türks.

[109] Gumilëv, *Drevnie tiurki*, p. 58.

The Khazars, according to Joseph, perhaps benefiting from these experiences, appear to have a strict system of father–son succession.

The Kök Türkic state possessed an elaborate hierarchy at the summit of which stood the Qağan (the origin of this title is obscure — it has been suggested that the Türks took this word along with much of their administrative apparatus from their onetime overlords the Žuan-žuan[110]). This was not a title taken lightly. In the period under investigation, it appears that amongst the Altaic peoples only four states had a Qağan at their head: the Kök Türks, the Avars, the Danubian Bulğars and the Khazars. The Türks extended the title only to two other peoples: the Chinese (Tabğač Qağan) and the Tibetans (Tüpüt Qağan). Ibn Xurdādhbih notes: "The kings of the Türks, at-Tubbat [Tibet p.g.] and al-Xazar [the Khazars p.g.] all bear the title *xāqān*, with the exception of the king of al-Xarlux [the Qarluqs p.g.] who is called *jabğūyah*."[111] This underscores the awe in which the title Qağan was held. As was noted above, it was the Qarluqs who destroyed the last remnants of the Western Kök Türks. Yet, their ruler apparently contented himself for long with the title *Yabğu/Jabğu*, not daring to declare his realm a qağanate. The principle of legitimacy was very strong amongst the Turkic peoples, as the qağanate itself was viewed as granted by divine will.

Next to the Qağan stood the *Šad*, *Yabğu* and various *Tegins* (all princes of the blood), beneath them were the *Čurs*, *Tarqans*, *Tuduns* and *el-täbärs*

[110] László, "A kagán és családja" *KCsA*, 3 (1940), p. 4. *See* Chap. IV.

[111] László, "A kagán és családja", pp. 5–6: Ibn Xurdādhbih, ed. de Goeje, p. 16. The Danubian Bulgars used various forms of the title Qağan: *κανὰς ὑβιγὶ* (or *κανὰ συβιγὶ*), *κανχάνος*, *κανκάνος* as well as the standard form *Χαγάνος* as repeated in Byzantine sources. *See* Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, pp. 148–149, 156–157, 332–333; Pritsak, *Bulgarische Fürstenliste*, p. 40. The Bulğars could legitimately claim this title as their royal clan, the Dulo, as we have already seen, was one of the ruling clans of the Kök Türks (Pritsak suggests that the Dulo were the old ruling clan of the Hiung-nu Huns. *See* Pritsak, *Bulgarische Fürstenliste*, pp. 38, 64). It should be noted that the Oğuz were also ruled by a Yabğu [*see* al-Xwārızmī, *Liber Mafātīḥ al-Olūm*, ed. G. van Vloten (Leiden, 1895), p. 120; al-Bīrūnī, *Chronologie orientalischer Völker (Al-Āthār al-Baqīyah)*, ed. C. E. Sachau (Leipzig — reprint 1923, reprint Bağdād), p. 101] who was a vassal of the Khazar Qağan.

Within the Kök Türkic confederation, the Qırğız and Toquz Oğuz were recognized as having qağanal status, but of a subordinate nature. Indeed, the Toquz Oğuz Qağan was termed *baz qağan* "vassal qağan" [*see* Golden, "The Migrations of the Oğuz" *Archivum Ottomanicum*, IV (1972), p. 49]. Other vassals could be raised to the qağanal dignity. In addition, within the ruling dynasty there appears to have been (especially amongst the Western Kök Türks) a relatively large number of persons who held a qağanal title although their role appears to have been largely ceremonial.

(all these titles and offices appear amongst the Khazars. The significance of the titles and the nature of the offices they carried will be discussed in the Word List).[112]

The investiture ceremonies of the Kök Türks and Khazars were virtually the same. The *Chou-shu* (written by Ling-hu Te-fen, 583–666) informs us that among the Kök Türks: "When a new ruler is chosen, the highest dignitaries carry him from his closest associates in a felt quilt and holding him in the direction of the sun, they spin him nine times. At each turn, all his subjects bow before him. After this spinning and bowing, they help the prince mount a horse and let him ride. Thereupon, they choke him with a silk scarf so that he barely stays alive. Then they loosen their hold and hurriedly ask him 'how many years will you be our Qağan?' Since the Qağan is in a benumbed state, he cannot state the duration of his rule in any reasonable way. Thereupon, they conclude from his words, which he in a muddled state uttered, the length of his office."[113]

Iṣṭaxrī writing about the Khazars in the tenth century remarks: "Their chief man is called Xāqān of the Xazars. He is greater than the King of the Xazars, except that it is the King of the Xazars who appoints him. When they wish to appoint this Xāqān, they bring him and throttle him with a piece of silk till he is nearly strangled. Then, they say to him 'How long do you wish to reign?' He says 'So and so many years'. If he dies before then, well and good. If not, he is killed when he reaches the year in question. The Xaqanate is only valid among them in a family of notables."[114]

There is, of course, much more that can be said about the Kök Türks. The few observations we have made, however, will suffice for our purposes.

The Bulğars

The most important Turkic group contemporaneous with the Khazars were the Bulğars whom we have already mentioned. We must now more closely examine their history, language and culture; for many aspects of the Khazar problem are inextricably bound to these peoples. The Bulğars, as their name implies (*Bulğar* [*bulğa* = "mix"] = "the mixed ones"),[115]

[112] Liu Mau-tsai, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 8–9, II, pp. 496–499; Chavannes, *Documents*, pp. 27–28.

[113] Liu Mau-tsai, *op. cit.*, I, p. 8.

[114] Dunlop, *op. cit.*, p. 97; Iṣṭaxrī, *Kitāb Masālik wa'l Mamālik (Viae regnorum)*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1870), p. 224. The translation above is Dunlop's.

[115] Németh, *HMK*, pp. 86–97. This etymology is not universally accepted.

were a hodge-podge of, for the most part, closely related tribes, the bits and pieces of earlier tribal unions. Their federation contained remnants of Attila's Huns, mixed with the more numerous Oğur Turkic tribes that had settled in the Ponto-Caspian steppes in a steady stream from the fourth to seventh centuries. On the basis of archaeological evidence, Soviet scholars have been able to trace the formation and migrations of the Bulğar/Oğur Turks (the conclusions drawn are identical with those of Hungarian scholars who have worked mainly with linguistic materials). The formation of these Turks took place in Kazaxstan (many graves there show the same structure as those of later Bulğars). The Qarasuq culture (of Minusinsk), in the words of Soviet scholars who have investigated it: "...perhaps ... formed that ethnic mass which later produced a special group of ancient Turkic peoples who were quite distinct from the other Turks both in the form of their culture and in their language." These were the Oğuric Turks.[116] The latter, under Hun pressure, were pushed westward from the third century onwards from their homelands in Western Siberia and Kazaxstan. Their first stopping point was the Ural area (this is confirmed by archaeological evidence and perhaps linguistic material. Ptolemy calls the Ural river *Δάϊξ* and Menander has *Δαΐχ* = *D'aiq* or *J̌ayıq*, the latter being the Bulğar/Oğuric equivalent of the *Yayıq* of common Turkic).[117] Archaeological finds show strong Ugrian elements side by side with the Oğur Turks in both West Siberia and the Ural region.[118] There is no doubt that the Oğuric Turks brought elements of the Hungarians with them in their movement into Europe. In both Western Siberia and the Ural region, the Hungarians absorbed many aspects of Oğur Turkic culture (this is reflected in numerous loanwords) and indeed were part of the Oğur Turkic tribal federations.[119]

In the late fifth century we find the first notice on the Bulğars (*see* above). This was probably an early grouping of Oğur and Hun tribes under the leadership of Irnik, Attila's son. This is seemingly confirmed by the appearance of Irnik's name in the Danubian Bulğar prince-list.[120] The Bulğars

[116] Gening, Xalikov, *op. cit.*, p. 147; Ögel, *op. cit.*, pp. 29–30, 32.

[117] Németh, *HMK*, pp. 112–113; Menander cited in Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 116. It can also be argued, however, that the above Greek forms were a rendering of Đayıq, the form that in Common Turkic ultimately became Yayıq. *See* N. Poppe, *Vergleichende Grammatik der altaischen Sprachen* (Wiesbaden, 1960), I, pp. 22–23 and A. Dilâçar, *Türk diline genel bir bakış* (Ankara, 1964), p. 14. For *d*—*ð* > *y* *see* K. Menges, *The Turkic Languages and Peoples* (Wiesbaden, 1968), pp. 81ff.

[118] Gening, Xalikov, *op. cit.*, pp. 142–145.

[119] Németh, *HMK*, pp. 121–124; Ligeti, "Az uráli magyar őshaza" in *MŐT*, pp. 36–69.

[120] Halasi-Kun, "A magyarság kaukázusi története" in *MŐT*, p. 71.

are not mentioned in other Byzantine sources until the seventh century. This is the period that saw the brief flowering of "Magna Bulgaria". The formation of this state, a competitor of the early Khazar state, is closely associated with the personality of Qobrat (the name can be translated as "the gatherer"). The latter was the nephew of Organas (whom it has been suggested should be identified with the Kök Türkic prince Mo-ho-tu who died in 631 in the course of a civil war in Jungaria). Regardless of his antecedents, Qobrat inherited his uncle's power and went on to form his own state in the Western Eurasian steppes.[121] Little is known about his life. According to an Ethiopian source he was baptised c. 619 in Constantinople.[122] Nicephorus (who mentions him twice, once as *Κούβρατος* and then as *Κουβράτος* and was apparently unaware that they were one and the same) notes that c. 635: "Qubrat *(Κούβρατος)* the nephew of *Ὀργανᾶς*, the ruler of the *Οὐνογουνδούροι* revolted against the Avar Qağan and having treated with insult him from whom he held the people, he drove him from his lands. Then, he sent an embassy to Heraclius and made a peace treaty with him, which they both kept to the ends of their lives. [Heraclius p.g.] sent him gifts and honored him with the dignity of Patrician."[123]

It seems clear, then, that Qobrat had been an Avar vassal who with Byzantine aid threw off Avar rule. He made himself or already was master of the Oğuric tribes living around the Sea of Maeotis down to the Kuban river, i.e. the area that became *παλαιὰ* or *μεγάλη Βουλγαρία*, inhabited by the Onoğundurs, Bulğars and *Χοτράγοι* (= Quturğurs?), the latter being described as the *ὁμόφυλοι* of the former by Nicephorus and Theophanes. According to these same two authors, during the reign of Constantine II (641–668) Qobrat, whose state was located around the Maeotis (Sea of Azov), died leaving behind him: ". . .five sons whom he admonished never to separate their place of dwelling from one another, so that by being in concordance with one another, their power might thrive. They, paying little heed to their father's advice, after a short time, separated from one another, each one of them slicing out (for himself) his own share of the people. Of them, the first called Baian [or Batbaian p.g.] remained in his native land

[121] Gening, Xalikov, *Rannie bolgary*, p. 109.

[122] Pritsak, *Bulgarische Fürstenliste*, p. 35, n. 1, citing Jean Evêque de Nikiou, *Chronique*, trans. H. Zotenberg in *Notices et Extraits des Mss. de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, XXIV (1883), p. 580. N. I. Ašmarin [*Bolgary i čuvaši* (Kazań, 1902), p. 5] with Obolensky [D. Obolensky, "The Empire's Northern Neighbors, 565–1018" *Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. J. Hussey et al. (Cambridge, 1966), IV/1, p. 483)] evidently following him, identify Organas as the one who was baptized in Constantinople in 619.

[123] Nicephorus, *Breviarium* (Bonn ed.), p. 27.

up to this day, according to his father's instructions. The second son called Kotragus [this is perhaps a remnant of the Quturğur tribe p.g.] having crossed the river Tanais [Don p.g.] settled opposite him. The fourth, having crossed the river Ister, resides in Pannonia, which is now under the sway of the Avars, having made an alliance with the local peoples. The fifth, settling in the five Ravennate cities became a subject of the Romans. The last of them, a third brother, named Asparux crossing the rivers Danapros and Danastros, lived in the locale around the Ister, having occupied a place suitable for settlement, called in their language ὄγγλον . . .[124] Then, the people having been divided and scattered, the tribe of the Khazars, from within Berulia [= Berzilia of Theophanes and Barsaliye of Balādhurī[125]] which neighbors with Sarmatia, attacked them with impunity. They overran all the lands lying behind the Pontus Euxeinos and penetrated to the sea. After this, having made Baian a subject, they forced him to pay tribute."[126]

The events detailed in this account are confirmed in their broader aspects from other quarters. The *Armenian Geography* mentions an "Asparhruk son of Xubraat who fled from the Khazars out of the Bulgarian mountains."[127] The letter of the Khazar Qağan Joseph says that the Khazars drove out the V.n.nt.r (Onoğundur? — Qobrat's tribe was the Onoğur/Onoğundur).[128] In all likelihood, the Bulğar confederation did not collapse all at once. Some, such as Asparux's horde, undoubtedly moved west some time after Qobrat's death for by 679 we find them at the borders of Byzantium. Others, such as the "fourth brother" (Alziocus/Alzeco?) had apparently left "Magna Bulğaria" considerably earlier, during the lifetime of Qobrat, probably before the revolt of 635. Pannonian Bulğars under Alzeco numbering some 9,000 fled Avar rule and went to the Franks. The Frankish king Dagobert allowed them to winter in Bavaria but then thinking better of it had them killed (c. 631–632). Some escaped and fled to Lombard lands in Italy (this is perhaps the origin of the "fifth brother" and his settlement in the Ravennate cities).[129] Thus, the Bulğar federation was broken and the

[124] This is the Slavic *Qgol* "corner". In Ottoman times, the area was known as *Bucak*, the Turkish equivalent of *Qgol*.

[125] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, I, p. 358; Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Boldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1895), p. 195.

[126] Nicephorus, *Breviarium* (Bonn ed.), pp. 38–39; *see also* Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, I, pp. 356–358.

[127] Marquart, *Die Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften* (Leipzig, 1898), pp. 88–89.

[128] Kokovtsov, *op cit.*, p. 92.

[129] Ašmarin, *Bolgary i čuvaši*, pp. 7–8; J. Wiesner, J. V. Farkas et al. *Die Kulturen der eurasischen Völker, Handbuch der Kulturgeschichte* (Frankfurt am Main, 1968), p. 170.

Khazars ultimately became the sole rulers of the Ponto-Caspian steppes. Elements of the Bulğars later went north and founded the state generally called Volga Bulğaria.[130] This state, however, remained a Khazar vassal. The horde of Kotragus appears later as the "Black Bulğars" of the Russian and Byzantine sources.[131] Baian remained directly under Khazar rule, but as we see from Nicephorus, his people somehow managed to retain their identity. Asparux's horde went on to form the Danubian Bulğar state.

BULĞAR CULTURE AND INSTITUTIONS

Though the Turks are known as the nomadic people *par excellence*, agriculture was always practiced to varying degrees among the individual tribes. In the Bulğar areas of Kazaxstan and West Siberia, archaeological finds have shown the existence of both nomadism and agriculture side by side. This was carried over to their new homes in the Ponto-Caspian steppes. Metallurgy was also known to the Bulğar tribes.[132] Organized urban life was also a hallmark of the Bulğar tribes. Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor speaks of the cities of the Burgārē. He also notes that they "live in tents and subsist on the meat of cattle and fish, wild animals and by (their) weapons."[133] These characteristics were uniform for all the Bulğar tribes. Theophylactus Simocatta speaks of the city of *Bakath* of the Onoğurs.[134] Highly developed urban life can be seen in both Volga and Danubian Bulğaria. The fortification and

[130] Soviet archaeologists date this movement differently. Gening and Xalikov (*Rannie bolgary*, pp. 162, 170ff.) date the advent of the Bulğars to the Volga to the 7th century. A. P. Smirnov [*Železnyi vek čuvašskogo Povolž'ia, Materialy i issledovaniia po arxeologii SSSR*, 95 (Moskva, 1961), pp. 135–136] dates the coming of the Bulğars to Čuvašiia to the 9th "or perhaps even the 8th centuries." *See* below, Chap. III.

[131] *See* Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *DAI*, ed. Moravcsik, pp. 64, 186 where *μαύρη βουλγαρία* is located somewhere to the east of the Dnepr. This is confirmed by the Greco–Ruś treaty of 944 (*PSRL* I, p. 51) where the Ruś are charged with preventing the *černii Bolgare* from raiding Xerson. These Bulğars could have posed a threat to Xerson only if they lived east of the Dnepr near the Maeotis–Don region. This would put them in the area described as having been settled by Kotragus. *See also* Marquart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 503–504.

[132] *See* Ašmarin, *Bolgary i čuvaši*, p. 13. The *Chou-shu* reports that the ancient Turks (the Ašina clan) before they overthrew the Žuan-žuan, worked as ironsmiths for the latter. This legend indicates that metallurgy was an art familiar to the Turks from very ancient times (see Liu Mau-tsai, *op. cit.*, I, p. 5). *See also* Ögel, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

[133] Zacharias Rhetor, *Kirchengeschichte*, trans. Ahrens and Krüger, p. 253; Gening, Xalikov, *Rannie bolgary*, pp. 141, 144–145.

[134] Theophylactus Simocatta (Bonn ed.), p. 286.

building techniques of Aboba-Pliska and Volga Bulğaria are similar. Sarkel, a Khazar city built in Bulğar territory (and presumably by Bulğar artisans) also follows the patterns found in other Bulğar sites.[135] Nomadism and urban life, thus, existed side by side in Bulğar centers.

The archaeology of the Bulğar grave is characterized by both similarities with and divergences from the Turkic norm. The Bulğars, unlike the other Turks, did not erect huge burial mounds (qurğans). The corpse, the orientation of which varied from grave to grave, was buried with two types of clay pottery (jugs and pots) which were placed either at the head or feet or left or right sides. Sacrificed meat and carcasses (like the other Turks) were placed in the graves. Gening and Xalikov, two Soviet archaeologists who have carried out extensive research into early Bulğar history, conclude: "The fact that these features, in different monuments, are found in various combinations attest to the ethnic variety of the Bulğar tribes. By the time of the fall of Magna Bulgaria this variety had, apparently, already been considerably smoothed away and the Bulğar tribes were more or less a unified mass with dialects of a single Turkic language. But in this culture, separate elements were preserved, attesting to the different origin of separate groups of the population."[136]

The physical features of the Bulğars confirm the fact that we are dealing here with a mixed group united only by language and similarities in their mode of life. The Bulğars show both Alano-Sarmatian and Mongolian elements. Gening and Xalikov suggest that these groups may have originally been Iranian but were Turkicized by the Huns who provided the Mongolian admixture.[137]

A NOTE ON THE BULĞAR LANGUAGE

The chief criterion for distinguishing the Oğur Turks from the rest of Turkdom is language. Some scholars would argue that Bulğar/Oğur Turkic is not Turkic at all but a form of Altaic very closely related to Turkic, which separated from the latter in the pre-Turkic state. Thus, Poppe writes: "The ancestor of Chuvash and Common Turkic constituted a unity which preceded in time the appearance of Common Turkic. This unity can be called Pre-Turkic."[138] The question, however, of whether Oğuric is aberrant Turkic

[135] Ögel, *op. cit.*, pp. 245–46, 256, 259; Artamonov, *op. cit.*, pp. 301–302.
[136] Gening, Xalikov, *op. cit.*, pp. 130–131.
[137] *Ibid.*, pp. 184, 190–191.
[138] N. Poppe, *Introduction to Altaic Linguistics* (Wiesbaden, 1965), p. 33.

or Common Turkic is aberrant Altaic (Oğuric in this instance being the more conservative, i.e. the more Altaic), as interesting as it may be, lies beyond the scope of this work. Čuvaš is the only living descendant of Oğur Turkic, but it has undergone considerable influence from both Common Turkic (especially Kazan Tatar) and non-Turkic (Finno-Ugric and Russian) languages.

Hungarian philological studies figure very prominently in any discussion of Oğuric because elements of the Hungarians, before they came to occupy their present homeland, lived as part of various Bulğar confederations particularly the Onoğur tribal union. During this period of Hungarian–Bulğar symbiosis, the Hungarians borrowed numerous Bulğar Turkic loanwords which they have kept to this day.[139]

In its most simplified form, and without entering into many still unresolved questions, the following Common Turkic (CT)–Bulğar/Oğuric (B/O) parallels may be noted: CT z = B/O r, CT $š$ = B/O l, CT y (initial) = B/O $ǰ$, CT s (initial) = B/O $š$, CT n, ng = B/O m, CT $ü, u, ō, o$ (initial) = B/O prothetic v + vowel.[140] In discussing words of Khazar provenance, these and other criteria (introduced where necessary) must be borne in mind.

[139] Various aspects of this question are still the subject of lively debate amongst specialists (*see* n. 41). Recently, the question of Avar survivals in the post-Charlemagne period and the possibility of an Avar mediation or origin for some of the Bulğar/Oğuric loanwords has been raised. *See* P. Tomka, "Le problème de la survivance des Avars dans la littérature archéologique hongroise" *AOH*, XXIV (1971), esp. p. 252. For hydronymic confirmation of early Oğur Turkic–Ugrian contacts, *see* G. E. Kornilov, "Gidronimičeskii areal **jaxan* Evrazii" *Toponimika Vostoka. Novye issledovaniia*, ed. G. P. Bondaruk, E. M. Murzaev et al. (Moskva, 1964), pp. 189–192.

[140] Sketches of Oğur Turkic can be found in Németh, *HMK*, pp. 86–95; Pritsak, *Bulgarische Fürstenliste*, pp. 71–75; Dilâçar, *Türk diline genel bir bakış*, pp. 68–69; J. Krueger, *Chuvash Manual* (Bloomington, Indiana–The Hague, 1961); J. Benzing's articles "Das Hunnische, Donaubolgarische und Wolgabolgarische" and "Das Tschuwaschische" in *PhTF*, ed. J. Deny et al. (Wiesbaden, 1959), I, pp. 685–751. The latter should be consulted for a more detailed bibliography. O. Pritsak's article "Bolgaro-Tschuwaschica" *UAJb*, XXXI (1959), pp. 274–313 is a valuable study of later Volga Bulğar. The rich material in A. Róna-Tas, S. Fodor's *Epigraphica Bulgarica. A volgai bolgár–török feliratok* in the series *Studia Uralo-Altaica*, I (Szeged, 1975) is particularly valuable here. Of paramount importance is Z. Gombocz's classic *BTL* and the posthumus publication (by L. Ligeti) of his university course on the phonetic correspondences of the Bolgaro-Turkic loanwords: *Honfoglalás előtti bolgár–török jövevényszavaink* (Budapest 1960). A more recent review of some of the problems involved can be found in M. K. Palló, "Hungaro-Tschuwaschica" *UAJb*, XXXI (1959), pp. 239–258. On the treatment of the vowels, *see* L. Ligeti, "Les voyelles longues en turc" *JA*, 230 (1938), pp. 195–196.

CHAPTER TWO

THE KHAZARS

The emergence of the Khazars on the stage of history is clouded by a host of contradictory and not infrequently anachronistic notices. Thus, an Armenian source (Movsēs Dasxuranc'i) tells of Khazar raids into Transcaucasia in the fourth century.[141] Arabic sources (al-Balādhurī and al-Ya'qūbī) tell of Khazar wars with the Shāh of Persia, Kavadh (486–531).[142] Dunlop has already pointed to some of the difficulties involved in al-Ya'qūbī's account. The Khazars are described here as already possessing a Qağanate (before the founding of the Kök Türkic state!) and the institution of dual kingship. This is indeed rather early for these particular institutions, as Dunlop notes, though he does not exclude the possibility that the Khazars may have been here (in the West) prior to 552.[143] Artamonov shares this view and both he and Dunlop seem quite certain that by the reign of Xusraw Anošarvan (531–579) the Khazars are "indeed upon the scene".[144] Both scholars, following Marquart,[145] suggest that the Abxaz mentioned in Ṭabarī's notice on Xusraw Anošarvan's conquests in the North Caucasus (these included the B n j r and Balanjar and Alans)[146] may be the Khazars (a confusion of al-Xazar الخزر for Abxaz ابخز!). Michael Syrus, a late Syrian source, reports a legend which is believed to have been transmitted by a sixth century Syriac author, John of Ephesus (Czeglédy comments that this legend was probably taken from a middle Persian source which was ultimately based on some Byzantine source)[147] which tells of the coming of the Khazars along with the Bulğars to the land of the Alans, called Barsāliā, from inner Scy-

[141] Dasxuranc'i, *History*, trans. Dowsett, p. 70.

[142] *See* Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, p. 194 [English translation: P. K. Hitti, *The Origins of the Islamic State* (New York, 1916, reprint: Beirut, 1966), pp. 305–306] and al-Ya'qūbī, *Historiae (Ta'rīx)*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma, I, pp. 200–204; Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie*, I, pp. 254–257.

[143] Dunlop, *op. cit.*, pp. 20–22.

[144] Dunlop, *op. cit.*, p. 22; Artamonov, *op. cit.*, pp. 116–117.

[145] Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 16.

[146] Ṭabarī, *Annales*, I, pp. 895–896; Nöldeke, *Geschichte* (Ṭabarī), p. 157.

[147] Czeglédy, "Bemerkungen zur Geschichte der Chazaren" *AOH*, XIII (1961), p. 244.

thia.[148] This legend is set in the time of the Emperor Mauricius (582–602). Needless to say, the true events are cloaked in legend and it is impossible to discern where fable ends and fact actually begins.[149]

The Kök Türks are soon upon the scene (568) and it is perhaps from this time that we should speak of the emergence of the Khazars. It is difficult to determine whether the Khazars existed independently of the Kök Türks or were perhaps brought to the area by the latter. Either supposition may be correct. The sources make no mention of the Kök Türks bringing in any new ethnic element to the North Caucasian steppes other than themselves. If the Khazars, however, were part of the Kök Türkic confederation at this time, it is doubtful that the sources (which speak only of "Turks") would have distinguished them from other "Kök Türkic" groupings. On the other hand, given the host of various tribes already in the area and their continual breaking up and re-forming into new groups, it seems quite possible that a new tribe could be formed here and yet elude the notice of our sources.

We can speak of the period of 568–630 (perhaps 650) as the Kök Türk period of the Khazar state. The Armenian, Georgian and Byzantine sources for Khazar history during the first third of the seventh century clearly show them as part of the Kök Türkic empire which was an ally of Heraclius in his wars against the Persians. The latter had mounted a considerable offensive against the Empire and had taken Antioch (611), Jerusalem (614) and Alexandria (619). Moreover, the Persians had concluded an alliance with

[148] Marquart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 484–485. The *Xasir* who appear in Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor's Ecclesiastical History, also a sixth century source, are not the Khazars but the Akatzirs. *See* Czeglédy, "Bemerkungen zur Geschichte der Chazaren" *AOH*, XIII (1961), p. 244 and below.

[149] This is particularly true of Balādhurī and Ṭabarī, both Persians writing in Arabic. As so many of these tales involved the "glorious Iranian past" fable and fact could be mixed. Moreover, as both these writers composed their works during the period when Khazar power was great in the regions described in their works, it was natural that the name Khazar may have been substituted for the name of the people who were actually involved. It is most probable that the people the Persians were fighting at this time were the Sabirs who were later swallowed up by the Khazars (this view is generally accepted by scholars. *See* Dunlop, *op. cit.*, p. 27; Artamonov, *op. cit.*, p. 117). Czeglédy believes that from the beginning of the sixth century the Khazars and Sabirs were identical. *See* his "A korai kazár történelem forrásainak kritikájához" *MTA-I.O.K.*, XV, p. 125. This is, I think, too early to speak of a Khazar Sabir union. The current state of our sources does not permit us to postulate the existence of such a union at this time. Some sort of accommodation (i.e. union) with the North Causasian Sabirs must have occurred by the beginning of the seventh century. This, however, can only be inferred. It is nowhere stated.

the Avars and the latter, together with their Slavic vassals, launched a drive on Constantinople in 617. Byzantium withstood these storms and under Heraclius (610–641) began a series of counter-attacks in 622. Heraclius carried the war to Transcaucasia where he secured the aid of Kök Türks. It is in this context that the Khazars make their first appearance in the Byzantine sources. Having devastated Albania in 626, the Khazars led by the Jabğu Qağan and his nephew, the Šad (these were perhaps Kök Türks) turned on Georgia in 627 and 628 (in which year they finally took Tbilisi).[150] Theophanes, in referring to these events, calls the Khazars "the Turks from the East". Their leader (*Jebu Xakʿan* in Armenian, *J̌ibğu/J̌ibğa* in Georgian) is called *Ζιέβηλ* "who is second in honor to the Qağan".[151] This corresponds exactly to the position of the Yabğu Qağan of the Western Kök Türks vis-à-vis his nominal suzerain in Mongolia. The "Čembux" and "Čenastan Čepetux" of Sebeos, who also recounts these events, should be identified with Jabğu Qağan.[152] The years 629–630 again found the Khazars engaged in Transcaucasia led this time by Čʿorpan Tʿarxan.[153] The Kök Türk–Khazar attacks on the borderlands of Persia now came to an end. In 630, the Eastern Kök Türk Empire succumbed to a re-invigorated China under the Tang dynasty and the Western Kök Türks sank into a prolonged period of civil war. Out of the ashes of the Western Kök Türkic European possessions the Khazar Qağanate emerged.[154]

Theories Regarding the Origin of the Khazars

Before continuing our narrative of Khazar history, it is proper that we pause and examine some of the theories that have been offered in regard to the origins and ethnic affiliations of the Khazars. As archaeological material on the Khazars is scanty, these views have all been based on varying interpretations of a not overabundant source material (for this early period) with occasional references to linguistic material.

First and foremost, we must note that, in the sources, the Khazars are everywhere associated with the Turkic world. In a number of Arabic,

[150] Dasxuranc'i, *History*, trans. Dowsett, pp. 81–88; *Kʿartʿlis Cʿxovreba*, ed. S. Qauxčʿišvili (Tbilisi, 1955), I, pp. 225, 374–375.

[151] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, pp. 315–316.

[152] Czeglédy, "A korai kazár történelem . . ." *MTA I.O.K.*, XV, pp. 114–116. *See also* Sebeos, *Histoire d'Heraclius*, trans. F. Macler (Paris, 1904), p. 52.

[153] Dasxuranc'i, *History*, trans. Dowsett, p. 104.

[154] Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*, pp. 138–142; Artamonov, *op. cit.*, pp. 154–155.

Byzantine, Chinese, Georgian and Armenian sources, the terms *Turk* and *Khazar* are virtually interchangeable. This was partly due, no doubt, to Kök Türkic suzerainty over the Khazars. It also points, however, to the common ethnic background of these two groups (*see* the appendix to section 1 of this Chapter, pp. 57–58 for a brief review of some of the sources in question). Our main problem then, is to determine Khazar affinities within the Turkic world.

Barthold (presumably basing himself on Iṣṭaxrī's remark[155] that: "The language of the Bulğars resembles the language of the Khazars") opts for an Oğur origin for the Khazars. He writes: "Die Bulgaren und Chazaren werden nicht vor dem 6. Jahrhundert erwähnt, doch kamen sie zweifellos, unabhängig von der Bildung des Türkischen Reiches im 6. Jahrhundert, in einer früheren Periode in das Wolgabecken. Es kann fast für unzweifelhaft gelten, dass sie in dieses Land die bekannte Völkerwanderungsbewegung geführt hat, die mit dem Namen der Hunnen verbunden ist."[156]

Artamonov basically shares this opinion. In his view, both the Khazars and the Sabirs are ethnically the same, i.e. of Bulğaric origin (the Bulğars, in turn, he claims are Turkicized Ugrians, who received their Turkic speech from the Huns).[157] Their names are confused in the sources for this early period of Khazar history. This would point to their intimate ties. In Artamonov's words: "They formed one and the same military-political union at the head of which stood, however, the Sabirs; since in the first half of the sixth century, in the majority of the historical notices, their name serves as the designation for the Caspian barbarians who lived north of Derbend."[158]

When the power of the Sabirs was broken by the Avars, the Khazars, now part of the Kök Türkic armies, soon came to prominence. Artamonov writes: "The Türküts [Soviet scholars call the Kök Türks Türküt — this is one of the Ancient Turkic plural forms found also in Classical Mongolian[159] p.g.] aided the consolidation of the Khazars, their union with other kindred tribes into a definite military-administrative union within the composition of the Türküt qağanate. Aside from the Khazars themselves, remnants of the Savir-Suvar, Barsil-Bersula (they are perhaps the Belenjer) and also

[155] Iṣṭaxrī, ed. de Goeje, p. 225.

[156] Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen*, p. 30.

[157] Artamonov, *op. cit.*, pp. 43, 68, 76, 78, 115. This is a consistent theme in Artamonov's book. He everywhere mistakes Oğurs for Ugrians (Ugors).

[158] Artamonov, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

[159] Gabain, Das Alttürkische" *PhTF*, I, p. 28; K. Grønbech and J. R. Krueger, *An Introduction to Classical (Literary) Mongolian* (Wiesbaden, 1955), p. 28.

smaller groups of Bulğars such as the Semenderians entered (this union). All of them called themselves Khazars because the latter were the most numerous of them and occupied the leading position in the union. In a short time, with the collapse of the West Türküt qağanate, the Khazar union gained full independence."[160]

Czeglédy, in a series of articles, arrived at a somewhat different conclusion. In his view the Khazar state was composed of three basic groups: (*i*) The genuine Khazars who were of Sabir origin (he views the Khazars as being identical with the Sabirs from the beginning of the sixth century). Their capital was Balangar (Belenjer), south of the Kuma river. (*ii*) The Caucasian Huns, south of the Khazars and north of Darband (Bāb al-abwāb), on the coast of the Caspian Sea. Their ruler is known in the Arab sources as the ṣāḥib Balanjar. (*iii*) The Western Kök Türks, overlords of the true Khazars. Their capital was Atil, the residence of the Qağan who was also the representative of the Western Kök Türks. The expression "King of the Khazars" can refer only to the Türkic Qağan of Atil.[161] "After the collapse of the West Türkic state which occurred around 766, the hegemony which the Türks had exercised over Khazaria also ended."[162] The Khazar language, according to Czeglédy, was akin to Čuvaš (i.e. Oğuric). The Khazars of Atil (= Kök Türks) spoke standard Turkic. He cites as examples of the latter, the words: *Barsbig*, *J̌ebgu* and *Čičäk* and notes that they have a North-Western Turkic (Qıpčaq) character.[163] Unfortunately, his choice of words is poor. *J̌ebğu (J̌abğu)*, *Barsbig* and *Čičäk* may be either Oğuric or Common Turkic. Jabğu, etc. appears as both *J̌abğu* and *Yabğu* in a variety of sources irrespective of ethno-linguistic origin. Although initial *ǰ* (< *y*) is characteristic, at present, of many Qıpčaq dialects, this is a later development. We shall return to this problem in Chapter Four.

Dunlop, in his *History of the Jewish Khazars* recapitulates many of the theories advanced by several generations of Orientalists as to the origins of the Khazars. Chief amongst these is the Khazar = Akatzir theory.[164]

[160] Artamonov, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

[161] *See* Czeglédy, "A korai kazár történelem . . ." *MTA I.O.K.*, XV, p. 125; Czeglédy, "Khazar Raids in Transcaucasia in A. D. 762–764" *AOH*, XI (1960), pp. 76, 79.

[162] Czeglédy, "A korai kazár történelem" . . . *MTA I.O.K.*, XV, p. 123. In his most recent work (*Nomád népek*, p. 99), Czeglédy has expressed the view that the Kök Türks (Türküts) organized the Khazar tribal union from the Sabirs, Oğurs and Onoğurs.

[163] Czeglédy, "*TEPMATZOYΣ*" *Acta Antiqua Acad. Sci. Hung.*, X (1962), p. 82, n. 14.

[164] Dunlop, *op. cit.*, pp. 6–7. For the full argumentation of this theory, *see* W. B. Henning, "A Farewell to the Khagan of the Aq-Aqatärân" *BSOAS*, XIV (1952), esp. pp. 502–506.

This ethnonym appears as *'Ακατίροι, 'Ακάτζιροι, 'Ακατζίροι,* Acatziri[165] and Agaziri in the Ravenna Anonymus.[166] In the latter work, the Agaziri are identified with the Khazars. Further support for this view appears to be found in the mid-sixth century Syriac Church History ascribed to Zacharias Rhetor where we find the *K.s.r/X.s.r* (Marquart reads it as *'Kas(i)r'*[167]) mentioned along with the *Ūn-gūr* (*Onoğur), *Ūgur* (*Oğur), *Sab.r* (*Sabir), *Burgar* (*Bulğar), *Kurt.rg.r* (*Quturğur), *Abar* (the Avars), *Sarurgūr* (*Šarağur/Sarağur) etc. Czeglédy has shown that this source is based on a Greek original which came to our Syriac writer via Middle-Persian intermediaries (thus in the legend on the coming of the Khazars and Bulğars to the North Caucasus recorded here, we find the eponymous brothers *Bulgarios* and *Xazarīg*, the former showing the Greek ending *-ios* and the latter the Middle-Persian *-īg*).[168] The notice contains both recent and earlier information. Thus, the Avars (who had just arrived on the scene) are mentioned in the same breath with the Sarağurs who had long since disappeared.

Marquart's etymology of Akatzir (**Ağačeri* "forest people")[169] needs further substantiation. Another etymology offered for Akatzir seeks to connect it with the ethnonym *Q'azar:* Akatzir = *Aq-Qazar ("the White Khazars"). Here, one is asked to surmount formidable philological obstacles.

[165] Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, pp. 58–59; Jordanes, *Getica*, ed. Skržinskaia, p. 136.

[166] Ravenna Anonymus cited in Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 59.

[167] Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 356, n. 1.

[168] Czeglédy, "Bemerkungen zur Geschichte der Chazaren" *AOH*, XIII (1961), p. 244.

[169] Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 41. The 14th century *Tarjumān Turkī wa 'Arabī* (*see* M. Th. Houtsma, *Ein Türkisch-Arabisches Glossar*, Leiden, 1894, henceforth abbreviated as *TAG*) has the form *Ağačeri* (*TAG*, Arabic text, p. 30), defining it as *rajul al-ša'rā'* رجل الشعراء which Houtsma (*TAG*, p. 49) translates as "Waldmann" and compares with *Ακατζίρ*. Ağačeri in Turkic can, indeed, be translated as "man of the forest", but the Arabic may mask another term. A. K. Kuryšžanov's recent study of the *Tarjumān* (*Issledovanie po leksike starokypčakskogo pis'mennogo pamiatnika XIII v. – 'Tiurksko-Arabskogo Slovaria'*, Alma-Ata, 1970, p. 77) in addition to being ignorant of its 14th century dating, is filled with errors and of little help here. A solution may, perhaps, be found in the fact that the root *š'r* in Arabic has extensive meanings, one of which, *ša'r, ša'ar* (pl. *aš'ār, šu'ūr, ši'ār*) denotes "fur", "pelt" as well as "hair", "bristles." *Rajul al-ša'rā'*, then, presuming that the second element of the construct is a corruption of *ši'ār*, is not a literal translation of the Turkic ethnonym, but rather a description, i.e. "man of the furs" = "a fur trader", "hunter" an occupation consonant with their self-designation as "forest people." The connection with the "gens Acatzirorum" of Jordanes (*see* above, p. 29) seems very unlikely.

The *t, tz* of our sources can only represent *č* (*see* Chapter Four for numerous examples). *Ἀκατζίροι* = **Akačir* (meaning?). This can by no stretch of the imagination be connected with Khazar. Czeglédy has suggested, correctly in my view, that *KSR//X. S. R.* goes back to either **Axasir* (= *Ἀκάτζιρ-*) or **Xosir* (*Κότζιρ-*).[170] The Byzantine episcopal and geographical "notitiae" mention the *Κοτζίροι*, a nomadic people living in the Pontic steppes.[171] Whether this tribe should be connected, in turn, with the Akatziroi is unclear. As for the notice in the Ravenna Anonymus, it needs further corroboration. We should not exclude the possibility that our unknown geographer may have lumped the Akatziroi, Xotziroi and Khazars together because of the similarity of their names. Barring further historical evidence confirming the statements of the Ravenna Anonymus, the Akatziroi = Khazar theory should be rejected on philological grounds.

Dunlop suggests an Uyğur origin for the Khazars. He notes that Chinese sources mention an Uyğur tribe called Ko-sa (the standard Chinese form for *Khazar* is *K'o-sa*). He then identifies the *Οὔρωγοι* of Priscus (Bonn ed., p. 158) with the Uyğurs believing that elements of the Uyğurs moved west with the Huns.[172] As we have seen, however, the Oguroi of the Byzantine writers are not Uyğurs but rather the Oğur Turks (*see* above). Chavannes also made this mistake.[173] There is no concrete proof of an Uyğur

[170] Czeglédy, "Bemerkungen zur Geschichte der Chazaren" *AOH*, XIII (1961), p. 244.

[171] Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, pp. 346–357. Most recently, O. Maenchen-Helfen ("Akatir" *CAJ*, 11 (1966)) has taken up the problem of the Akatiroi. He notes that the latter were a steppe people whose name was actually *Akatir* (*cf.* Priscus) but was corrupted in Jordanes *et al.* to *Akatzir*. The Akatirs have, in his view, "nothing to do with the Khazars. They were not 'forest men', but a people of the South Russian steppes who possibly spoke a Turkish language, the same as the Huns." (p. 286). He further notes (pp. 282–283, 286) that (1) Akatir is "definitely not *Aq-Xacir"; (2) that *Χότζιροι* is probably a garbling of Xazar (the notitiae "abound in corruptions"); (3) the *K. S. R.* are not the Khazars.

[172] Dunlop, *op. cit.*, pp. 34–40 for complete exposition of the theory.

[173] Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 247. Chavannes identifies the *Ὀγώρ* of Theophylactus Simmocatta (who according to that author lived on the river *Τίλ* "in the East") with the Uyğurs. In light of what followed after the subjugation of the *Ὀγώρ* this seems hardly possible. In the same sentence, Theophylactus reports: "When the tribe of the *Ὀγώρ* was entirely subjugated, the Qağan gave over for annihilation by the sword the leader of the tribe of Kolx." (Theophylactus Simocatta, *Historia*, Bonn ed., p. 259). The raid on Colchis (Lazica) immediately after the conquest of the *Ὀγώρ* could have been possible only if the Kök Türks were already on the Volga (*Τίλ*) and in the North Caucasian steppes from whence they could quickly enter Transcaucasia. The Oğur tribes were all over this area (the Volga–Caspian steppes), hence only the Oğur Turks and not the Uyğurs could have been meant by Theophylactus.

migration to the West in Hunnic times. The whole hypothesis rests on a confusion of the names Oğur and Uyğur. Dunlop himself sees difficulties in this theory but from a different quarter. He writes: "... as to a possible linguistic connection between Uigurs and Khazars, the existing monuments of the Uigur dialect offer no support for it. It is commonly accepted that the Khazar dialect belonged to the so-called aberrant branch, conveniently called 'Lir' Turkish, as opposed to 'Shaz' Turkish ... It is conceivable, however, that the 'Lir' Turkish at a remote period was widely spoken, and if the Uigur/Khazar relationship was otherwise acceptable, the linguistic argument would not be determinative against it."[174]

A. Zajączkowski stands diametrically opposed to these theories. In his view, Khazar Turkic has nothing to do with Oğur Turkic and should be connected with the modern Qıpčaq dialects of the Qaračay and Qaraim. He cites Iṣṭaxrī's notice on Khazar which says that it resembles the language of the (Volga) Bulğars (*see* n. 155). But, basing himself on Maḥmūd Kāšğarī, Zajączkowski argues that Volga-Bulğar shows very insignificant divergences from Common Turkic (as did also Pečeneg which was, most probably, a Qıpčaq dialect) and should thus be classified as Common Turkic.[175] We know, however, that in the time of Maḥmūd Kāšğarī (his *Dīwān luğāt it-Turk* was written c. 1072–73) there were several types of Turkic spoken in Volga Bulğaria, both Oğuric and Common Turkic.[176] Moreover, Maḥmūd Kāšğarī knew, in reality, very little about Turkic dialects in the West. His knowledge of these dialects was second-hand at best.[177] Other evidence (already presented) shows that the bulk of the Oğur tribes undoubtedly spoke a language that diverged considerably from Common Turkic. Iṣṭaxrī's notice (he wrote in the tenth century) undoubtedly refers to this earlier period when Oğuric reigned in Volga Bulğaria. It must be pointed out, however, that Iṣṭaxrī contradicts himself with regard to Khazar Turkic; for in another part of his narrative he remarks that Khazar is different from Turkic and Persian "nor does any distinct tongue of mankind share any of its characteristics" *(wa lā yušārikuhu lisān fāriq min al-umam)*.[178] Thus, his information, which is not first-hand, is suspect.

N. A. Baskakov attempted to classify the Khazar language on the basis of the materials gathered by S. Šapšal (as the latter's work remains unpub-

[174] Dunlop, *op. cit.*, pp. 39–40.

[175] Zajączkowski, *Ze studiów nad zagadnieniem chazarskim*, pp. 57–58.

[176] Pritsak, *Bulgarische Fürstenliste*, p. 9.

[177] T. Halasi-Kun, "Philologica III. Kazan Türkçesine ait dil yadigârları" *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, VII (1949), p. 605.

[178] Iṣṭaxrī, ed. de Goeje, p. 222.

lished, we can have no precise idea of what it contains). Baskakov notes that the Khazar union consisted of various Turkic and non-Turkic tribes (a plausible assumption) which had earlier been part of the Hunnic union (a possibility which requires further substantiation). On the basis of the limited data at our disposal, he classifies Khazar as Turkic and posits the existence of at least two dialects, a *č-* dialect and a *ts-* dialect. The latter conclusion is erroneous and derives from a misunderstanding of the material from which our information on Khazar is drawn. Baskakov further comments that the Khazar language ". . .in the ninth and tenth centuries underwent mixing with related Turkic languages, primarily Pečeneg and Uz. Toponyms such as Itil, Sarkel, Semender, Balanjar and Bek Tarluv [the latter unattested in our sources p.g.] belong to the oldest of the surviving words of Khazar. As regards the other words, they, with few exceptions, belong, according to their phonetic structure, to the language of the northern Oğuz (the Pečenegs and Uz)."[179]

Baskakov tends to classify Khazar with the Bulğaric group. How he arrived at this position (he cites, for example, Kāšğarī as one of his sources for Khazar despite the fact that the great Qaraxanid linguist and ethnographer does not mention them in any significant way) is unclear.

In the final analysis, as we shall see, the only way to determine the linguistic affinities of the Khazars (and presumably gain thereby an insight into their ethnic origins) is to examine the sparse remnants of their language taking into consideration the nature, background and context from which our materials are drawn. Even this procedure is not without its pitfalls; but as we have no texts in Khazar it is the only course open to us.

We have reviewed the opening pages of Khazar history and examined some of the theories regarding the ethnic milieu from which their state emerged. We must now resume our narrative of their early history.

APPENDIX

Al-Yaʿqūbī (*Taʾrīx*, ed. Houtsma, I, p. 13) in his listing of the sons of Japhet, names ماش whose sons are الترك and الخزر. The برجان (= the Bulğars) are mentioned as the sons of توبل etc. (*see* also Dunlop, op. cit., pp. 12ff. for other citations). Al-Masʿūdī (*Kitāb at-Tanbīh*, ed. de Goeje, p. 83) cites the Khazars in his listing of Turkic peoples: "The fifth people are the tribes (اجناس) of the Turks, to wit: the Qarluqs (الخرلخيه), the Oğuz (الغُزّ), the Kimäk,

[179] Baskakov, *Vvedenie*, pp. 237–238.

the Toquz Oğuz (الطغزغز) and the Khazars (الخزر) who are called in Turkic سبير and in Persian خزران and they are a tribe of the Turks."

Arab sources for the period of Arab–Khazar warfare in the seventh and eighth centuries not infrequently interchange *Khazar* and *Turk* (*see* Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīx*, II, pp. 375, 395; Ibn Qutayba (text cited in Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie*, I, p. 202) etc.

A Chinese source, the *T'ang-shu* [*see* E. Bretschneider, *Medieval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources* (London, 1910), II, p. 93] mentions the K'o-sa (= Khazars) "who belong to the stock of the T'u-küe (Turks)". Theophanes (*see* his *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, I, *s.a.* 6221, 6223, 6255, 6256) in his descriptions of the Arab–Khazar wars of the eighth century refers to Khazaria as *Τουρκία* etc. In a notice referring to the Heracleian period, he states that the Khazars are "Turks from the East" (*Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, I, p. 315). The Georgian *Kʿartʿlis Cʿxovreba* (I, p. 223) identifies them, in this same context as the "Turks from the West".

A thirteenth century Polish–Latin source, Martinus Oppaviensis, calls the allies of Justinian II (*see* below), during his Crimean sojourn, Turks: "fugit (Justinian II p.g.) ad principum Turcorum, qui sibi germanam suam tradidit in uxorem . . .". *See Martini Oppaviensis Chronicon Pontificum et Imperatorum*, ed. L. Weiland, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* XXII (Hannoverae, 1872), p. 459. *See also* E. Tryjarski, "Some Early Polish Sources and Their Importance for the History of the Altaic World" *Journal of Asian History*, 3/1 (1969), pp. 37–38 which drew my attention to this source. Tryjarski only cites the notice. He does not comment on the 'princeps Turcorum' mentioned here as being the Khazar Qağan known to us from our Byzantine sources. The origin of the Polish account, which basically follows the Byzantine versions, is a mystery (the latter everywhere have "Khazar Qağan").

History of the Khazar Qağanate

By 630 or thereabouts, a separate Khazar state begins to come to the fore. The Kök Türks, caught up in a civil war at this time, lost their hold over the North Caucasus. We have seen that two states appear now in the Ponto-Caspian steppes: Magna Bulğaria and Khazaria. A clash between them was inevitable. The Byzantine sources (Theophanes and Nicephorus, *see* above) as well as a Khazar source (the letter of the Qağan Joseph) have left us a clear account of what transpired. Joseph writes: "It is written that in the days when my ancestors were still few in number, the All-

mighty — may He be blessed — gave them strength, power and might. They waged one war after another with many peoples who were mightier and stronger than them. With the help of God, they drove them out and occupied their country, and some of them they forced to pay tribute up to this very day. In the country in which I live, there lived here formerly the *V.n.nt.r.* Our fore-fathers, the Khazars, warred with them. The *V.n.nt.r* were more numerous, as numerous as the sand by the sea, but they could not hold out against the Khazars. They left their country and fled and they [the Khazars p.g.] pursued them until they caught them at the river Duna [Danube p.g.]. Right up to the present day they are settled along the Duna near Qustandina and the Khazars have occupied their country up to the present."[180]

We know that Asparux and his Bulğars came to the Danube c. 679. Hence, these events must have come to a close by that year. It is very likely that this was a prolonged struggle, perhaps a reflection of the civil war amongst the Kök Türks. The Bulğar ruling house came from the Dulo clan (*see* above). We may suppose that the Khazars favored the Nu-she-pi. Artamonov theorizes that Ibi-Šegui (I-p'i-she-koei) the leader of the Nu-she-pi who was overthrown by the Dulo, fled west to the Khazars and founded the Khazar royal family in 651. The fact that the Khazars appear about this time as a people headed by a Qağan lends credence to this view.[181] The title Qağan was not lightly assumed; it implied, at this time, kinship with the Ašina clan.

By 650 the Khazars had fully emerged as a distinct and important state in the North Caucasus and lower Volga delta. It is at this time that they begin to play an important role in world history. The rise of the Khazars to world prominence is intimately connected, chronologically, with the emergence of another state created by nomads, the Arabian Caliphate. It is not my intention here to give a detailed exposition of the course of the Arab–Khazar wars. Comprehensive treatment can be found in the works of Artamonov and Dunlop (especially the latter). What follows will be a brief summary of the major events.

The Arabs began to penetrate Transcaucasia in 640. In 642 an Arab raiding column struck as far as Balanjar. There is then a hiatus in major activity (minor raids apparently continued) for ten years until the next large scale Arab–Khazar contacts. In 652 an Arab commander, ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān ibn Rabīʿah, disregarding a standing caliphal order to the con-

[180] Kokovtsov, *op. cit.*, p. 92.
[181] Artamonov, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

trary, led a large force towards Balanjar where he was defeated and killed.[182] The next few years witnessed attempts on the part of the Arabs to gain a firm hold over Transcaucasia interrupted only by the civil war between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah (657–661). The Arab forces withdrew from Transcaucasia and the local rulers scurried around seeking aid against the day when the Arabs should return.[183] The Khazars now began to raid Transcaucasia in earnest. In 661–662 they raided Albania (later Adharbayjan) but were repulsed by Juanšer the local ruler. This raid was followed in 663/4 by another, carried out by the Caucasian Huns, vassals of the Khazars. This time, however, Juanšer bought them off with a treaty and married the daughter of the king of the Huns.[184] In 684 and 689 there were again large scale Khazar invasions of Transcaucasia.[185]

The Khazars, during this period, were also active in the Crimea. By the mid-seventh century all of the Peninsula except for Xerson was in their hands.[186] In 695, the Byzantine Emperor Justinian II was banished to the Crimea. Several years later, he managed to arrange a marriage alliance with the Khazar Qağan whereby the latter's sister became his wife. The government of Tiberius III in Constantinople grew anxious over these events and finally succeeded in convincing the Qağan that it would be in both their interests to have the former Emperor out of the way. The Qağan gave orders to *Παπατζύς* and *βαλγίτζις* his representatives in Phanagoria and Bospor to that effect. Theodora, Justinian's Khazar wife (Theodora was the name she took at her baptism) learned, of what was about to transpire and informed her husband. The latter killed Papatzys and Balgitzis, returned to Xerson and eventually re-claimed his throne in 705. In 710, Justinian

[182] For general details *see:* Dunlop, *op. cit.*, pp. 50–57. The Ṭabarī-Balʿamī tradition names ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān ibn Rabīʿah al-Bāhilī as the slain Arab commander. Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 204, 259, *see also* Dunlop's note p. 57, n. 73), Ibn Qutayba (*see* Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie* I, p. 202) and al-Yaʿqūbī (*Taʾrīx*, ed. Houtsma, II, p. 194; Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie* I, p. 256) name Salmān ibn Rabīʿah al-Bāhilī as the Arab commander. Ibn Qutayba describes the scene of these actions as "Balanjar in the land of the Turks".

[183] R. Grousset. *L'empire du Levant* (Paris, 1946), p. 97; Artamonov, *op. cit.*, p. 177; K. V. Trever, *Očerki po istorii i kul'ture kavkazskoi Albanii* (Moskva–Leningrad, 1959), p. 246

[184] Dasxuranc'i, *History*, trans. Dowsett, pp. 120, 122–126.

[185] Asołig, *Histoire universelle par Etienne Açoghig de Daron*, trans. E. Du Laurier (Paris, 1883–1917), p. 43; Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 514; Ghévond (Łewond), *Histoire des guerres et des conquêtes des Arabes en Arménie*, trans. V. Chahnazarian (Paris, 1856), p. 15.

[186] Artamonov, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

sent an armada to the Crimea to punish Xerson, Bospor "and the other climates" (he never forgot the hostility of the populace in his place of exile). As Dunlop suggests, this may have been more than a mere punitive mission. The Crimea seems to have been dotted with Khazar officials. We now even hear of a *Tudun*[187] in Xerson (there were no Khazar *Tuduns* in Xerson during the time of Justinian's exile). Xerson was taken and the majority of its inhabitants slaughtered. When news of this spread, the populace of the Crimea prepared for resistance. There is little doubt that Justinian was insane; this was certainly clear to some of his associates. His governor of Xerson, Elias and others threw off their allegiance to the mad Emperor. A diplomatic mission sent by Justinian to set things right again (especially with the Khazars whose *Tudun* had been in Byzantine captivity) was put to the sword. A full-scale revolt was now in progress. Bardanes (who had been sent to the Crimea along with Elias) was proclaimed Emperor (with the name Philippicus). Justinian sent a flotilla to reduce Xerson but the arrival of Khazar troops prevented the fall of the city. The commander of Justinian's army, Maurus, rather than face the Emperor's wrath, elected to join the rebels. This marked the beginning of the end for the ill-fated monarch. He was killed shortly afterwards.[188] The name of the Khazar Qağan involved in these events, as given in the anonymous Byzantine chronicle, was *Βουσήρος Γλιαβάρος*[189] or *Ἠ/Ιβουζήρος Γλιαβαν/ρος*.[190]

Thus, by the early seventh century, the Khazars were in a position to play a prominent role in Byzantine affairs. In the East, Arab–Khazar border warfare was to reach a new stage. Sometime after 685, ʿAbd al-Malik and Justinian II concluded a treaty which aside from dealing with the Mardaite problem provided for the payment of a tribute to Byzantium by the Arabs and for the two "superpowers" to share the revenues taken from several regions which had been hitherto points of contention: Cyprus, Armenia and Iberia (Kʿartʿli). Justinian soon broke the treaty and the Byzantines

[187] *Tudun* is a Turkic title. For a detailed explanation of this term see the Khazar Word-List in Chapter Four.

[188] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, I, pp. 372–375, 377–381; Nicephorus (Bonn ed.), pp. 45–53. Greatly abbreviated versions of these events containing, however, some details omitted by our main sources can be found in the anonymous 8th century chronicle which has been published in: T. Preger, *Scriptores rerum constantinopolitanarum* (Lipsiae, 1901), I, pp. 19ff and the Bonn Corpus: Georgius Codinus, *Excerpta* (Bonnae, 1843), pp. 166–167. An echo of these events is also found in Martinus Oppaviensis (*see* above, Appendix to section 1 Chapter Two).

[189] Georgius Codinus (Bonn ed.), pp. 166–167.

[190] Anonymous Byzantine Chronicle (Parisiensis 1336): Preger, *Scriptores*, p. 40; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 136.

were once again masters of Armenia.[191] The Arabs began a series of countermoves a good many of which focused on the North Caucasus. Up to A. H. 95/713–714, the strategically important fortress of Bāb al-Abwāb (Darband) apparently changed hands several times. In A. H. 95, the outstanding Umayyad general, himself a scion of the Caliphal family, Maslamah ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, retook the city. Armenian tradition notes[192] that after this victory, Maslamah drove deep into Hunnic/Khazar territory reaching (according to Łewond) the Hunnic city of Tarku. The Huns called on their overlords, the Khazars, who arrived with a large army. The two armies stood staring at each other while the Qağan awaited further reinforcements coming under his general Alp Tʿarxan. Maslamah realized his situation was becoming critical and contrived to deceive the Khazars by leaving his entire camp and hiding his troops in the woods from which he made his way to Georgia. Dasxuranc'i notes that the Albanian prince Vačʿagan covered the retreating Arab force and defeated the pursuing Khazar army thereby assuring the safe return of Maslamah.

The account of Maslamah's retreat is suspiciously very much like the account given in the Arab sources for his campaign of A. H. 113/731–732 in which he is said to have reached Samandar after which he was compelled to retreat (abandoning tents etc.). Even during the retreat, however, he managed to defeat the pursuing Khazars.[193]

The years 717–718 once again saw Khazar armies in Albania, acting, no doubt, as a diversionary force for the Byzantines whose capital was under Arab siege.[194] The Khazars followed this raid with an invasion of Armenia in 721–722, having prefaced it first with an assault on the Alans. The Arabs were defeated at Marj al-Ḥijārah in Armenia but the Caliph Yazīd quickly dispatched another army under Jarrāḥ ibn al-Ḥakamī which drove the Khazars back to their own lands. The Khazars led by *Bārjīk*

[191] Grousset, *L'empire du Levant*, pp. 99–100; Trever, *Očerki po istorii i kul'ture kavkazskoi Albanii*, p. 250; I. Javaxišvili, *Kʿartʿveli eris istoria* (T'bilisi, 1965), II, p. 77; Dasxuranc'i *History*, trans. Dowsett, p. 202; for the Byzantine–Arab treaty, *see* Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, *sub anno* 6178, I, p. 363.

[192] Łewond, *Histoire*, trans. Chahnazarian, pp. 38–39; Dasxuranc'i, *History*, trans. Dowsett, pp. 208–209; Asołig, *Histoire*, trans. Dulaurier, p. 158. The Armenian accounts place events c. 714/715 (Dasxuranc'i), 716 (Łevond), 717 (Asołig). Asołig does not mention Maslamah's (Mslim) subsequent major campaign into 'Hunnic' lands. He does, however, note that Maslamah defeated the 'Honkʿ', drove them out and pursued them.

[193] *See* Dunlop, *op. cit.*, pp. 77ff. Dunlop does not make reference to the Armenian sources.

[194] Artamonov, *op. cit.*, p. 205; Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 203.

(*see* Chapter Four), the son of the Qağan, were defeated north of Bāb al-Abwāb after which the Arabs pressed on to Balanjar which they took. Jarrāḥ now considered moving on to Samandar, another Khazar city, but was warned not to press his luck. Jarrāḥ continued campaigning throughout A. H. 105–106/723–725. In 107/725–726, Maslamah was again appointed commander of the Caucasian theater of operations. The period from 726 to 729 again saw inconclusive fighting. Maslamah was recalled and Jarrāḥ resumed campaigning. In 730, Jarrāḥ and his army were destroyed by Bārjīk at Ardebil after which the Khazars raided as far south as Diyar-Bakr near Mosul. An Arab force under the deputy of the again appointed Maslamah, Sa'id ibn 'Amr al-Ḥarašī, drove the invaders northward and defeated them in a series of battles.[195]

In A. H. 113/731–732, Maslamah, according to the Arab sources, penetrated deep into Khazar territory after which he had to retreat (*see* above). It is difficult to determine whether this is indeed the same campaign described by our Armenian sources or another foray. Byzantine sources provide little help here. Theophanes *sub anno* 6220 (= 728 A. D.) reports the death of Jarrāḥ. In 6221 (= 729 A. D.) he tells of Maslamah's campaign in "the land of the Turks" which culminated in Maslamah's losing his courage and taking flight. Under the year 6223 (= 731 A. D.), he relates that Maslamah marched on "Turkia", reached the "Caspian gates, took fright and returned".[196] Certainly one of these none too glorious episodes is the one reported by our Arab sources. This still does not explain the fact that not one but three Armenian sources report a similar event some fifteen years earlier.

The conclusion to which one is drawn is that not a few of Maslamah's forays deep into Khazar lands ended in rapid retreats to the safety of Arab-controlled regions in Transcaucasia. The next year he was succeeded by Marwān ibn Muḥammad (known as Murvan Qru, "Marwān the deaf" in the Georgian sources because of his cruelty[197]). Marwān undertook a series of expeditions into Georgia, Albania and the Khazar lands. The year 737

[195] Łewond calls the Khazar commander *T'armač'*. *See* Łewond, *Histoire*, trans. Chahnazarian, pp. 99–101 ; Armenian edition : *Patmut'iwn Łewondeay meci vardapeti Hayoc'*, ed. I. Ezeanc' (St. Peterburg, 1887), p. 101. For a full account of these wars *see* Dunlop, *op. cit.*, pp. 60–74 ; Artamonov, *op. cit.*, pp. 203–215. For individual details *see* the Arab accounts of Ṭabarī (with additions of Bal'amī, ibn al-Athīr), Balādhurī, al-Ya'qūbī etc. *See also* Dasxuranc'i, *History*, trans. Dowsett, pp. 209–210 and Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, I, p. 407.

[196] *See* Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, I, pp. 407, 409; for the chronology of Theophanes, *see* G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. J. Hussey, revised edition (New Brunswick, 1969), p. 88.

[197] *K'art'lis C'xovreba*, I, p. 233.

signaled a turning point in these wars. Marwān under the guise of seeking a truce invaded Khazaria catching his opponents unawares. With a large Muslim and Transcaucasian army, the wily Arab general penetrated deep into enemy territory, forcing the Qağan to flee north up the Volga. The Arabs bypassing the Khazar capital Atıl/İtil pursued the Qağan into the country of the Burṭās and after defeating a Khazar army sent to aid the Qağan brought the latter to terms. The Qağan agreed to become a Muslim and a subject of the Caliph.[198]

Marwān's campaign marked the close of the great Arab campaigns against the Khazars. Although victorious, the Arabs were never able to enjoy the fruits of their victory. Marwān understood, of course, that the only way to retain Khazaria under Arab domination would be to station a permanent army of occupation there. This was an impossibility. As great as the resources of the Caliphate were, they were not enough to both police the Ponto-Caspian steppes and fight wars in Central Asia and Europe at the same time. Moreover, the days of the Umayyads were numbered. Marwān, who would soon assume the caliphal dignity (744), perished at the hands of the ʿAbbāsids thirteen years after his great victory over the Khazars.[199]

In effect, the Arabs and the Khazars had fought each other to a standstill in the Caucasus. The Khazars would never again prove a really serious threat to the Arabs in Transcaucasia, though their raiding, which was resumed after 750, combined with the frequent revolts of the Christian peoples of Transcaucasia, gave the Arabs little peace in that part of their empire. The North Caucasus remained essentially a Khazar sphere of influence.

The events following Marwān's expedition are not entirely clear. The temporary conversion to Islam of the Qağan appears to have had no lasting

[198] Dunlop, *op. cit.*, pp. 81–84; Artamonov, *op. cit.*, pp. 218–222; Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie*, I, p. 225. For Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī's description of this campaign, *see* A. Z. V. Togan, *Ibn Faḍlāns Reisebericht: Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XXIV/3 (1939), pp. 295ff.

[199] Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, pp. 279–285. It has been suggested by Byzantinists that the 737 campaign of Marwān actually aided Byzantium by draining away needed troops to fight Byzantium's ally, the Khazars. Similarly, Leo III's notable victory over the Arabs at Acroinon in Asia Minor in 740 eased the Arab pressure on the Khazars so that the Qağan was able to terminate his brief allegiance to Islam. Certainly, in all of this, we can see some of the fruits of Leo's marriage alliance with the Khazar royal house (*see* below). *See also* S. D. Skazkin, N. V. Pigulevskaia et al. *Istoriia Vizantii* (Moskva, 1967), II, p. 50; M. Anastos, "Iconoclasm and Imperial Rule 717–842" in *CMH*, IV/1 (1966 ed.), p. 64 as well as the comments of Toumanoff [C. Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Georgetown–Wetteren, Belgium, 1963), p. 405].

effect on the Qağanal family ; for within two generations Judaism appeared among them. The traditional Khazar–Byzantine alliance, dating back to the time of Heraclius, and, in reality, a necessity forced on both sides by the exigencies of geopolitics, appears to have continued ; but not without difficulties. This was due to the fact that both sides, though they shared a common enemy also shared a common border (in the Crimea) and a common sphere of influence (Western Georgia). As a result, the partnership worked well as long as there was a serious Arab threat. In times of relative peace, the two partners often quarrelled, sometimes quite seriously, over the Crimea and Western Georgia.

In 732/733 Leo the Isaurian had married off his son Constantine (later called Copronymus) to the daughter of the Khazar Qağan, Čičäk.[200] Twenty-eight years later, in 760, we find the Caliph al-Manṣūr (754–775) ordering his governor of Arminīyah, Yazīd ibn ʿUsayd aṣ-Ṣulamī, to arrange a marriage with a Khazar princess. The order was dutifully executed, Yazīd shortly thereafter married a Khazar princess (her name is given only as *Xātūn* which is the Turkic title *Qatun*). The reigning Qağan at this time appears to have been called *Bağatur*. The Xātūn's death a few years later served as the cause (or perhaps pretext?) for two large-scale Khazar raids into Transcaucasia in 762–764.[201]

In the year 780, the Georgian (Kʿartʿlian) prince, Nerse, recently released, with the accession of the Caliph al-Mahdi (775), from three years of captivity at Bağdad, fled to the Khazars in the hope of obtaining aid from the latter in his continuing struggle with the Arabs. Although well-treated, he was unsuccessful in his mission. He returned to Kʿartʿli via Abxazia (Apʿxazetʿi). The ruler of this territory, Leon II, was a grandson of the

[200] Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De Cerimoniis aulae byzantinae libri*, ed. J. J. Reiske (Bonnae, 1829–1830), pp. 126–127 ; Nicephorus, *Breviarium*, p. 66. *See also* Anastos, "Iconoclasm and Imperial Rule 717–842" in *CMH* IV/1 (1966), p. 64 ; Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (1969 ed.), p. 157.

[201] Czeglédy, "Khazar Raids" *AOH*, XI (1960), pp. 75–88. *See also* A. N. Kurat, "Muḥammad bin Aʿsam al-Kūfī'nin Kitāb al-Futūḥ'u" *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, VII (1949), pp. 272–273 ; Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīx*, ed. Houtsma, II, p. 446 ; and Łewond, *Patmutʿiwn*, ed. Ezeancʿ, p. 132, give the name of the Khazar commander of these raids as Rās/Raž Tarxan of the horde of Xatʿirlitʿber. M. Canard ["Byzantium and the Muslim World to the Middle of the Eleventh Century" in *CMH* IV/1 (1966), p. 704] has suggested that here again the Khazars were acting as a diversionary force for Byzantium whose main energies were at that moment directed towards Bulgaria. The Šušani–Bločʿan incident (*see* below, Chapter Four) reported in the Georgian Chronicles is perhaps to be related to this raid (*see* Javaxišvili, *Kʿartʿveli eris istoria*, II, pp. 80–81 who corrects Marquart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 416–418).

Khazar Qağan (and through his family ties presumably also a relative of the Byzantine Emperor Leo II, "the Khazar", the product of the union of Constantine Copronymus and Čičäk). It was at this juncture that Byzantium's suzerainty over Western Georgia (medieval Abxazia and Egrisi) which had long been recognized now (786) came to an abrupt end. The "Georgian Chronicle" *(Matiane K'art'lisa)* reports: "But at the time when the Greeks (Brdzenni) became weak, the *erist'avi* of the Ap'xaz broke away [*gadga* lit. "fell away", "defected", "apostasized" p.g.] from them. His name was Leon, the nephew of the *erist'avi* Leon to whom Ap'xazet'i was given hereditarily. This second Leon was the grandson of the King of the Khazars and with their aid [*dzalit'a mat'it'a* lit.: "with their power" p.g.] he broke away from the Greeks and conquered Ap'xazet'i and Egrisi . . ."[202]

What is interesting to note here is that we find the Khazars actively aiding the Abxaz against the Byzantines. One suspects that there is a connection between this anti-Byzantine policy in Western Georgia and the anti-Khazar revolt in Crimean Gothia which took place in the 780's. This revolt was unsuccessful and its leader, John of Gothia, met with surprisingly little vindictiveness on the part of his Khazar overlords.[203] We do not possess enough evidence to determine what the role of Byzantium was in the Gothic rebellion. Given, however, Byzantium's continuing interest in the Crimea where the Empire appears to have shared power with the Khazars (and as a result an uneasy truce obtained between the two allies), it would seem quite plausible that Byzantium would try to stir up some trouble in this region in the hope of increasing its sphere of influence. Could, then, Khazar policy in Western Georgia have been an attempt (quite successful) to retaliate? The question deserves more study but, due to the lack of source material on Khazar–Byzantine relations for the murky years of the eighth century, the problem remains open.

The last major Khazar raid into Transcaucasia took place in 798/799. Georgia proper (K'art'li), this time, (according to Ṭabarī and Ya'qūbī) was the principal victim.[204]

[202] *K'art'lis C'xovreba*, I, p. 251; Javaxišvili, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 82, 92–93; Z. V. Ančabadze, *Iz istorii srednevekovoi Abxazii* (Suxumi, 1959), pp. 101–105. Toumanoff (*op. cit.*, pp. 256, 401) dates these events to the 790's.

[203] Artamonov, *op. cit.*, pp. 252–255.

[204] *See* Dunlop, *op. cit.*, pp. 183ff for details and sources (basically Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr and Ya'qūbī). *See also* Artamonov, *op. cit.*, pp. 249–251. Canard ["Byzantium and the Muslim World to the Middle of the Eleventh Century" in *CMH* IV/1 (1966), p. 707] suggests that this Khazar attack "caused the Caliph to accept the peace proposals made by Irene together with tribute, and hostilities were interrupted."

A kind of calm, founded, no doubt, on exhaustion, seems to have obtained for the better part of the ninth century. We hear of no great events on the Muslim–Khazar borderlands. For the most part, this was a period of peaceful commercial contact, during which the Khazar capital on the Volga became an international trade emporium. The *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* tells us that ". . .the well-being and wealth of the king of the Khazars are mostly from the maritime customs". Iṣṭaxrī also mentions this.[205] In the tenth century, Masʿūdī speaks of Muslim merchants migrating to Khazaria because of "the justice and security (of the land)".[206]

Sometime in the early ninth century, probably during the reign of Hārūn ar-Rašīd (786–809), as Masʿūdī tells us,[207] the Khazar Qağan converted to Judaism. The circumstances surrounding the conversion are obscure and have yet to be satisfactorily explained.

Sarkel and the Proto-Hungarians

The conversion, evidently, did not have a negative effect on Khazaria's relations with her longtime ally, Byzantium. In 838,[208] the latter sent a special team headed by Petronas Kamateros, a *spatharokandidatos*, to build a fortress for the Khazars on the Don.[209] Artamonov believes he has found the site of this fortress, Sarkel, on the left shore of the Don near the "stanitsa" Tsimlianskaia. He notes that the bricks used in the construction of the fort are not the same size as those used in Byzantine constructions. The letters (runic), symbols and figures found on the bricks are very similar to those on the bricks of Aboba-Pliska, the capital of the Danubian Bulğars. Artamonov concludes that the Byzantines acted only as supervisors, the

[205] Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, p. 162; Dunlop, *op. cit.*, p. 93. Chapter Three of this work has a section devoted to Khazaria and commerce.

[206] Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, II, p. 12.

[207] *Ibid.*, p. 8. *See* Dunlop's detailed discussion of the question (*op. cit.*, Chaps V–VI).

[208] For the dating *see* I. Sorlin, "Le problème des Khazares et les historiens soviétiques dans les vingt dernières années" *Travaux et Mémoires* III (1968), p. 436, n. 51. The date hitherto assigned to these events was 833. Iu. Kulakovskii [*Prošloe Tavridy* 2nd ed. (Kiev, 1914), p. 76] had already suggested a later date (839) than the one generally accepted at his time.

[209] Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *DAI*, ed. Moravcsik, pp. 182–184; *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonnae, 1838), pp. 122ff.; Io. Scylitzes in *Georgius Cedrenus Ioannis Scylitzae ope* (henceforward abbreviated as *Scylitzes-Cedrenus)*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonnae, 1839), I, pp. 129–130.

labor and technique being supplied by the local (Bulğaric) population. Archaeological finds show that there were two ethnic groups that occupied Sarkel. One, occupying the Western part of the fortress, shows great cultural similarity to the Bulğars. The other, which evidences strong Mongolian physical features, was certainly nomadic (in contradistinction to the Bulğars here who were sedentary) and probably spoke a Common Turkic dialect. This latter group Artamonov identifies with the Oğuz or Pečenegs some of whom he believes were in Khazar service at this time. The Bulğaric group he would identify as Khazar.[210]

The conclusions drawn as to the ethnic affinities of the nomadic group in Sarkel are, I think, somewhat premature. They may very well have been Khazars whose culture, if they were Eastern Turks, would certainly show kinship with that of the Pečenegs and Oğuz. Sarkel was a very important Khazar site intimately tied to the system of defence of the Qağanate. It seems only natural that its garrison (represented here by the nomadic group) would have to be composed of troops whose loyalty would be unquestioned. These could not be the Pečenegs, who were already pecking away at Khazar holdings in the eastern part of the Qağanate. They could hardly qualify for such a post. The *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* does mention a group called the Khazarian Pečenegs in the tenth century. But the anonymous author of this invaluable geography also notes that they took the country they occupy "by conquest".[211] The Pečenegs, then, could hardly be the reliable force the Khazars would need for the garrison of Sarkel. The Oğuz, on the other hand, were just beginning to make themselves felt in the Ural–Volga steppelands. Indeed, it was their movements that were responsible for a series of dislocations in the steppe and forest-steppe zone on the eastern and north-eastern frontiers of Khazaria. Khazar policy adjusted to the new situation by using the Oğuz against the Pečenegs. Given these circumstances, it seems more logical that the Qağan would have staffed the garrison of Sarkel with his own loyal tribesmen. Ultimately, the question will be solved when the runic signs on the bricks are deciphered and compared with the remnants we have of the Khazar language.

[210] Artamonov, *op. cit.*, pp. 299, 301–302, 307–308, 312–316. For Turkic runes *see* Gy. Németh, "A magyar rovásírás" *A magyar nyelvtudomány kézikönyve*, II (1934) and his very important recent article "The Runiform Inscriptions from Nagy-Szent-Miklós and the Runiform Scripts of Eastern Europe" *Acta Linguistica*, 21 (1971) an updating of his earlier study *Die Inschriften des Schatzes von Nagy-Szent-Miklós* (Budapest, 1932).

[211] Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, p. 160.

Against whom was Sarkel built? Marquart, with Németh following him,[212] has suggested the Hungarians, basing himself on Ibn Rusta's notice that the Khazars "in the past, built trenches *(xandaq)* around themselves in fear of the Majğarīyah and other peoples who bordered on their country".[213] Byzantine sources, however, indicate that Pečeneg–Khazar difficulties were the cause of the building of Sarkel. This is implied by the Continuator of Theophanes and openly stated by Scylitzes who calls Sarkel "a staunch bulwark against the attacks of the Pečenegs".[214]

The Sarkel question leads us to the Hungarians. If Sarkel was constructed to hold off the Hungarians, from whence were the latter coming and how and why did they constitute a threat to Khazaria? To attempt an answer, one must make a digression into Hungarian proto-history, an area well-known for its pitfalls. I do not propose, here, to go into all the details of Hungarian proto-history as this would and already has filled volumes. My intention is give the reader some idea of the theories hitherto offered in regard to this problem. For full citations from the sources, I refer the reader to the authors mentioned in the course of the discussion. Our focus, will, of course, be Sarkel.

Until fairly recently, the reigning theory regarding the history of the formation of the Hungarian people was best expounded in Németh's *A honfoglaló magyarság kialakulása (HMK)* and in the works of his students [such as Halasi-Kun's "A magyarság kaukázusi története" in *A magyarság őstörténete (MŐT)*]. Briefly stated, this view hypothesized that the Finno-Ugrian Hungarians left their Uralic homeland for Western Siberia where they joined with various Oğuric Turkic tribes and migrated together with the latter, in the post-Attila period (c. 463, *see* p. 30 of this work), to the Ponto-Caspian steppes. There, the newcomers merged with the remnants of Attila's Huns. The Hungarians proper, settled near the Kuban and the Sea of Azov. In their new homeland, the Hungarians were successively part of various Oğuric tribal confederations, the Kök Türkic Empire

[212] Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 28; Németh, *HMK*, pp. 153–155.

[213] Ibn Rusta, ed. de Goeje, p. 143. Ibn Rusta's remarks have been confirmed by Soviet archaeologists who note that the plan of Sarkel makes extensive use of a series of moats (trenches, *xandaq* of our Arabic source) as a means of defense. Indeed, Sarkel was typical of the "white fortresses" of the region as a whole. *See* S. A. Pletneva *Ot kočevii k gorodam* (Moskva, 1967), pp. 34, 43–45.

[214] Theophanes Continuatus, ed. I. Bekker, pp. 122ff.; Io. Scylitzes, ed. I. Bekker, II, pp. 129–130. *See also* Golden, "The Migrations of the Oğuz" *Archivum Ottomanicum*, IV (1972) for a general discussion of the events in the steppes leading up to this and the consequences of these movements for Khazaria and Byzantium.

and the Khazar Empire. Sometime in the seventh century, a part of the Hungarians and Oğur (Bulğar) Turks went to the Volga. Elements of the Hungarians settled in what is now Baškiria. Sometime around 800, the Hungarians in the Kuban region left that area, crossed the Don and settled in the Don curve from whence they were driven out by the Pečenegs towards the close of the ninth century. The Hungarians in Baškiria remained, forming the famed "Magna Hungaria" discovered by thirteenth century Hungarian friars who visited the region.[215]

Németh has recently revised his views. His new approach is worth quoting in full: ". . .(the) area extending from the Kama to the Ural River was the ancient homeland of the Hungarians. It was to this place that the Hungarians migrated from their Finno-Ugric homeland in the Kama country and neighboring territories and here the Hungarian–Turkic tribal organization (consisting of) seven (tribes) was formed in close connection with the neighboring, powerful Bulğar Turks. Here the Hungarians received Bulğar Turkic tribal names and here ancient Hungarian culture borrowed many important words from the Bulğars . . . Turkic elements also joined the Hungarians here.

From here, then, one part of the Hungarians, around 750–800 migrated to the south-west, the lower Don–Volga–Caucasus triangle. In the western lands of this triangle, near the Maeotis (present day Sea of Azov), they joined the Khazar State for some 100–150 years. Hungarian tradition preserved a memory of this homeland in the name *Dentümogyer* "the Hungarians of the Don". It was, moreover, at this period that Hungarian territory extended as far as the Caucasian Bulğars, as far as the lands of the Onoğurs and up to the Kuban river country. In the west, prior to 889, Hungarian territory extended as far as somewhere around the Lower Danube.

Bulğar influence continued here too because there were also Bulğars in the Khazar state. Here Bulğar Turkic loan-words, which are impossible for the Volga Bulğars, such as *som* 'cornel (cherry)', 'dogberry', *kőris* 'ash', *gödény* 'pelican' were transmitted to the Hungarians. One of the names of the Caucasian Bulğars, On-oğur, 'the Ten Oğurs', 'the Ten Tribes'

[215] Németh, *HMK*, esp. pp. 5–7, 121–127, 151–178, 216–220; Halasi-Kun, "A magyarság kaukázusi története" in *MŐT*, pp. 75, 86–87, 91–92. A brief English summary of these views can be found in T. Halasi-Kun, "The Caucasus: An Ethno-Linguistic Survey" *Studia Caucasica*, I (1963), pp. 13, 15, 19. For a summary of the various views regarding the origins of the Baškirs *see* R. Z. Ianguzin, "Istoriia i sovremennoe sostoianie izučeniia etnogeneza i etničeskoi istorii Baškir" in *Iz istorii Baškirii*, ed. I. G. Akmanov et al. (Ufa, 1968), pp. 258–269.

(from this came *hungarus, ungar, hongrois* etc.) stuck with the Hungarians."[216]

As regards the Kama-Ural river Hungarian homeland (by and large the lands of the Baškirs of today), Németh cites some very interesting parallels between some of the original Hungarian tribal names and tribal and clan names found amongst the Baškirs:

Hungarian	*Baškir*
Nyék	Negmen (tribal name)
Gyarmat	Yurmatı (tribal name)
Jenő	Yeney (tribal name)
Keszi	Kese (branch name)
Gyula (title)	Yulaman (clan name)
Megyer	Mišer-Yurmatı (branch of the Yurmatı)
Magyar	Možeriane, Možarka, Možarovo (ethnonym and place-name known to Old Russian sources)[217]

The listing of Hungarian tribal names as we have them in Constantine Porphyrogenitus is: *Νέκη, Μεγέρη, Κουρτουγερμάτου, Ταριάνου, Γενάχ, Καρή, Καση.*[218] Thus, only the Tarján (*Tarxan), Käri (Kér) and Kürt *(Κουρτ)* branch of the *Κουρτουγερμάτου* are left out.

A yet more recent revision of Hungarian proto-history appeared in Imre Boba's work *Nomads, Northmen and Slavs.*[219] Basing himself on recent developments in Hungarian and Soviet research into the question, Boba has proposed some interesting new solutions. He writes: ". . .it must be emphatically stated that the application of the names 'Magyar', 'Hungarian' or 'Ungar' to any tribal formation participating in the events of the ninth century is an anachronism or is based on an unsubstantiated assumption that the Hungarians (magyars) of today can be identified with a single group active in the steppe zone in the ninth century . . . it should be noted that, whereas the names 'Hungarian' (derived from *Qgъry) and 'Magyar' (derived from 'Mogyeri') are today applied to only one nation, in the ninth

[216] Gy. Németh, "A baskír földi magyar őshazáról" *Élet és Tudomány*, 13 (1966), pp. 598–599.

[217] *Ibid.*

[218] Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *DAI*, ed. Moravcsik, p. 174.

[219] I. Boba, *Nomads, Northmen and Slavs* (The Hague–Wiesbaden, 1967).

century the derivatives from 'Qgъre' and from 'Mogyeri' were applied to two distinct, unrelated tribal formations".[220]

Boba believes this to be confirmed by the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* and Gardīzī who mention the Majğarī (Magyars) and Onoğurs "as two groups acting independently but simultaneously, in the ninth century somewhere north of the Black Sea". In Boba's view, we can only speak of Hungarians after 900 when these two tribes had already merged and conquered the Carpathian Basin. As further evidence that the Onoğurs and Magyars (Majğarī) were two distinct peoples who had just been joined, Boba cites Constantine Porphyrogenitus: "Constantine Porphyrogenitus was correct when he observed that in his times, i.e. in the middle of the tenth century, the tribes forming the federation were learning each other's languages. The Onoğur element spoke an Altaic, the Majghari, a Finno-Ugric dialect."[221]

Boba has completely misread the evidence. An examination of the passage in question will show (*see* Chapter Four under the heading *Qabar* where this important passage is quoted in full) that our royal historian was writing about the Qabars, Khazar rebels who fled to the Hungarians. The two languages in question were Altaic Khazar and Finno-Ugric Hungarian (regularly called *τήν τῶν Τούρκων γλῶσσην* by Constantine).

Boba suggests that the Onoğurs who had been part of the Avar Empire (which collapsed in 795–796 at the hands of Charlemagne and his son Pepin[222]) fled their now weakened overlords and their crumbling state to the Pontic steppes. Elements of them remained in Dacia as well. These Onoğurs appear in Greek, Latin and Slavic sources as *Οὔγγροι*, Ugry, Vęgry, Ungari and in Muslim sources as Burjān, Burgar.[223] Sometime around 890, the *Οὔγγροι* and Majğarī merged. The latter had also migrated to the Don–Dnieper steppelands sometime around 820–830. Their original homeland was the area known as the Meščera land in the Old Russian sources, the Majğarīyah of the Muslim writers. This territory was on the Oka river, north of Riazań. The name Meščera Boba explains as a "slavicized form reflecting probably an Ugric **mants-*, **ments-*".[224] Archaeological finds have shown that the original population of this area was Finno-Ugric. From the fifth century onwards, these peoples were becoming nomadized (the process probably being helped by Iranian and Turkic neighbors). By the end of

[220] *Ibid.*, pp. 74–75.

[221] *Ibid.*, p. 75.

[222] H. Fichtenau, *The Carolingian Empire*, trans. P. Munz, (New York–Evanston, 1967), pp. 78–80.

[223] Boba, *Nomads, Northmen and Slavs*, pp. 78–82.

[224] *Ibid.*, pp. 87, 90, 92–94.

the first millennium A. D. this seminomadic population had disappeared, having emigrated, probably around 820, to the Don. It was this movement of the Majǧarī/Meščera/Magyars that prompted the building of Sarkel. The Majǧarī themselves were forced out of their lands by the Northmen who began to penetrate the Oka at this time.[225]

Let us examine now, in detail, some of these issues. The question of a Hungarian homeland in the Caucasus region remains unsolved. There are no direct written sources (except al-Bakrī whose text is suspect[226]) clearly placing the Hungarians in this area in the period prior to 820–830. Toponymics show that Hungarians were in the Caucasus (cf. Madžarskoe ozero, Možarsk, Kum-Majar around the Kuma river[227]); but this may well be connected with the movements of the *Σάβαρτοι ἄσφαλοι* at a later period. Alanic loanwords borrowed, supposedly, from the Caucasian Alans (words such as *asszony* "woman", *híd* "bridge", *vért* "armor", "harness", "cuirass")[228] pose some difficulties in regard to when they were borrowed and from what Alanic grouping. They may have been borrowed from Alanic tribes still in the Ponto-Caspian steppelands (later Alanic loanwords came from the Alans who migrated together with the Qumans to Hungary in the thirteenth century).[229]

We have no sources for the Onoǧurs, appearing under their own name in the ninth century. The *V.n.nt.r* of Joseph's letter, the *W.n.nd.r*/*N.nd.r* of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* and Gardīzī[230] may or may not have been the Onoǧurs or elements of them (who remained under Khazar rule after the breakup of Qubrat's state). These forms would point to a pronunciation of these ethnonyms as *Vonondur = Onoǧundur (an alternate form of Onoǧur) with the typically (for this later period) Oǧuric initial *v* for Common Turkic *o*. We are, however, under no obligation to connect the *W.n.n.d.r* with the *Οὔγγροι*, Ungari, Ugry etc. Why the Onoǧur name, so familiar to the Byzantine sources, should have undergone the transformation to *Οὔγγροι* etc. has not been answered by Boba. Given the initial *v* of Oǧuric at this

[225] *Ibid.*, pp. 96–97, 99–100.

[226] *Ibid.*, p. 91.

[227] Németh, *HMK*, pp. 323–325.

[228] G. Bárczi, L. Benkő, J. Berrár, *A magyar nyelv története* (Budapest, 1967), p. 279.

[229] On the latter, *see* J. Németh, "Eine Wörterliste der Jassen der ungarländischen Alanen" *ADAW*, 4 (1958).

[230] Kokovtsov, *op. cit.*, p. 28; Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, pp. 162–163; Zaxoder, *op. cit.*, II, p. 53 citing Gardīzī. Zaxoder regards the *W.n.nd.r* and *N.nd.r* as an integral part of the "Hungarian theme" of the Caspian codex (*op. cit.*, II, p. 47). The texts are confusing as to both the period (or periods) to which they refer and the geographical area (or areas) involved.

time, we would expect this to be reflected in the forms we have [the Slavic Vęgry with initial *v* is a native Slavic phenomenon now mainly associated with Lechitic: Pol. *węgiel* ("coal"), Russ. *ugol'*; Pol. *wąsy* ("moustache"), Russ. *usy*; but known to other Slavic languages as well: Belorus. *vośí* ("here"), Ukr. *oś*; Russ. *vot* ("here"), Ukr., Pol. *ot*; Belorus. *vulitsa* ("street"), *vozera* ("lake"), Russ. *ulitsa*, *ozero*].

Is the name *Οὔγγροι* (Ungri), Ungari, etc. to be connected with Onoğur? (In *Οὔγγροι* may we not perhaps see a reflection of the original Ugric tribal name Ugor?)

Boba's identification of the Burjān with the *Οὔγγροι* etc. is, again, by no means compelling and rests on highly circumstantial evidence.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus describes the geographical position of the Magyars, Pečenegs and Oğuz, prior to 820–830 thus: "know you that the Pečenegs in the beginning made their abode towards the river *Ἀτήλ* [Volga p.g.] and also towards the river *Γεήχ* [*Yäyıq, the Pečeneg pronunciation of Yayıq, the Ural river, p.g.], having the *Μαζάρους* [Magyars, p.g.] and those called *Οὔζ* [Oğuz p.g.] on their borders."[231]

Ibn Rusta and al-Bakrī place the Majğarī between the Pečenegs and the Volga Bulğar tribe اسكل. Gardīzī places them between the Bulğars and the اسكل "who are also Bulğars".[232]

From the above, it would appear that the Magyars (Majğarī) lived south of the Volga Bulğar capital and probably east of the land known as Meščera; that is they lived in the Kama–Ural region mentioned in Németh's revised theory. It is here that they bordered with the Pečenegs. In time, they undoubtedly crossed to the western bank of the Volga. The Meščera territory was Uralic as were the surrounding lands (the Mordva, Čeremis, Meria, Muroma are all in this general region). There is no evidence to show that the Magyar tribe or tribal confederation was exclusively in Meščera territory at this time (c. 800). The presence in this general area of a tribe called Magyar is, however, beyond doubt. Very important evidence in this regard is provided by toponyms based on the roots *Magyar/Mogyer—Megyer*:[233]

[231] Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *DAI*, (Bonn ed.), p. 164. The Moravcsik–Jenkins edition has, in place of *μαζάρους*, *χαζάρους*. The Paris MS., however, (*see* plate 231, line 14) has *μαζάρους*.

[232] Ibn Rusta, ed. de Goeje, p. 142; Zaxoder, *op. cit.*, II, p. 48.

[233] For the basic listings *see* Németh, *HMK*, pp. 325–326 and J. Smirnov, *Les populations finnoises des basins de la Volga et de la Kama*, trans. P. Boyer, in *Publications de l'école des languages orientales vivantes*, IV[e] série, VIII (1898), p. 272. Smirnov also cites a document from the archives of Šatsk which mentions, *s.a.* 1539, the Možers, Tatars and Baškirs on the right side of the Volga.

Kazań *guberniia*: villages *Možarka*, *Mišer*, river *Možarka* (Tsivil'sk district), villages *Mižar*, *Mižary* (Kozmodemiiansk district), river *Mažarka* (Čeboksary district).

The *Nikonovskaia letopiś* (*PSRL* XIII, p. 167) *s.a.* 7059 = 1551 in a *čelobitnaia gramota* from the "land of Kazań" lists the following peoples: "Čuvaš, Čeremis, Mordva, Tarxans, Možars and all the land of Kazań." The *Tarxans* are probably a remnant of the Hungarian tribe *Tarján* (< **Tarxan*). The name also figures in the toponymy of Penza *guberniia* (*see: Volosti i važneišiia seleniia evropeiskoi Rossii*, izdanie tsentral'nago statističeskago komiteta, vyp. I (SPb, 1880), p. 125 for the *volost' Tarxanskaia* and the village *Tarxany*) as do also the ethnomyms Magyar and Q'azar:

Simbirsk *guberniia*: villages *Mažarovskii Maidan*, *Mažar-Kasy* (Kurmyš district).

Penza *guberniia*: stream *Možarovka* (in Gorodišče district — which also contains a *volost' Kazarskaia* and a village *Kazarki* (*see: Volosti i važneišiia seleniia*, vyp. I, pp. 108–109) and the village *Možarovka*.

Riazań *guberniia*: *volost' Možarovskaia*, (Sapožkovskii district), villages: *Bol'šie Možary* and *Meńšie Možary* (*see: Volosti i važneišiia seleniia*, vyp. I, p. 327).

Tambov *guberniia*: villages *Možarovka*, *Možarovo* (Kirsanov district), *Možarovskaia* (Temnikov district).

Saratov *guberniia*: village *Mažary* (Atkarsk district).

It is clear, then, that *Magyar* groupings were present on both sides of the Volga. The names *Magyar* and *Meščer* should be connected, but in a manner different from that of Boba. The latter is correct in connecting *Meščer* with the *Imniscaris* of Jordanes.[234] From this latter form we might reconstruct a form **Minskar*/**Menskar*. Eastern Slavic was in the process of losing its nasal phonemes *ǫ*, *ę* by the tenth century.[235] Thus, **Męskar*, *at this time* (tenth century), could already be pronounced in Eastern Slavic as **Meskar*/**Meskăr*. The *sk* combination in Eastern Slavic often becomes *šč* (cf. Russ. *puskat'*, dial. *puščat'*). Thus, there is no difficulty in postulating a *Menskar*/**Męskar* > *Meščer* hypothesis. What, however, are the elements in **Menskar? Mens-* appears similar to the Ugric tribal names (Ostyak) *Mańś* and (Vogul) *Mańši*. This form corresponds to Hung. *Magy-ar* (cf. Hung. *agyar* "tusk, fang" = Vog. *ańɒšar*, Ost. *ańźàr*). Thus, we arrive at:

[234] Jordanes, *Getica*, ed. Skržinskaia, p. 150. *See also* Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie* I, p. 136.

[235] F. P. Filin, *Obrazovanie iazyka vostočnyx slavian* (Moskva–Leningrad, 1962), p. 274.

Imniscaris = **Menskar* ~ **Mańskar* (*cf.* Mańś etc. ~ *Mańśi-kar cf. Magyar* < ? *Magy-kar cf.* Arab. مجريّ) > *Meščer*. I do not insist on this formulation, the above is merely a suggestion. What is paramount here rather is the undoubted presence of sizable numbers of Ugrians in areas that are today predominantly Finnic. Indeed, Uralicists have indicated that in earlier times, Vogul elements lived considerably more to the west and southwest than their present-day Ob river homes would indicate.[236] Before leaving the Meščer problem, it should be noted that the ethnonym *Meščer* does not appear as such in Russian sources until rather late in the 14th–15th centuries. Moreover, in these texts, it regularly replaces the ethnonym *Čeremis* of earlier texts [*see* in this regard the comments of A. G. Kuz'min, *Riazanskoe letopisanie* (Moskva, 1965), pp. 56, 58]. Archaeologists have duly noted that the culture of the Meščera region differs from its Meria and Mordva neighbors.[237]

Thus, we can speak of a broad belt of Finnic and Ugric peoples extending from the Oka to the Kama amongst whom were the ancestors of the Magyars, on both sides of the Volga.

It cannot be doubted that the migration of the Magyar tribal grouping to the Pontic steppelands prompted the construction of Sarkel. It is probable that this migration, like the later one which brought the Hungarians from the Pontic steppes to Danubian Europe was set off by the Pečenegs who were undergoing difficulties with their neighbors, the Oğuz. This conflict, in the course of the ninth century, became increasingly serious and ended with the expulsion of the Pečenegs from the Volga–Ural river steppelands. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who was so well-informed about these events (especially as their repercussions were later to be felt in Byzantium), informs us that the Oğuz were allies of the Khazars and that this was a concerted effort. The Pečenegs were evicted from their lands, crossed the Volga (c. 889–890) and entered the Pontic steppes. There they encountered the Magyar tribal union which they had caused to settle there some sixty years earlier and drove them out, occupying their lands.[238]

[236] Bárczi et al., *A magyar nyelv története*, p. 103; Németh, *HMK*, p. 247; B. Collinder, *An Introduction to the Uralic Languages* (Berkeley–Los Angeles, 1965), pp. 19–22.

[237] A. L. Mongait, *Riazanskaia zemlia* (Moskva, 1961), p. 117. A theory has been advanced that the Burtas were a group of the Magyar tribal union who later appear as the Meščer-Mišär-Možar. *See* Chapter Three of this work.

[238] Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *DAI*, ed. Moravcsik, p. 166; Boba [*op. cit.*, pp. 98–101) argues that it was the Northmen who drove the Magyars south by their expansion to the Volga–Oka region.

Bury has suggested that Sarkel was built against the Ruś of Novgorod. Some Soviet scholars have followed this interpretation.[239] For confirmation of this view, these scholars point to the notice in *the Life of St. Stephan of Surož* in which the Ruś are said to raid the Crimea c. 842. Sarkel, according to this view, was important for the protection of both Byzantine and Khazar holdings in the Crimea. The value, however, of *the Life of St. Stephan of Surož* as an historical source is open to question. Vasiliev completely rejects its use "for any historical purpose" and notes that "as an historical source, *the Life of St. Stephan of Surož* must be eliminated".[240] It is possible that the Ruś were already becoming a factor in Khazar defence considerations; but the great Ruś danger appeared only in the tenth century. Sarkel was important for Byzantine defense considerations as it protected the vital (and shortly after 838) new *thema* of "Xerson and the climates". This was Byzantium's eye on the steppe, particularly on new elements coming from the east and north-east. Moreover, Sarkel (*see* Chapter Four) was not the only *sarkel* ("white fortress") in the area. It has become famous because Byzantine writers singled it out (due to its obvious importance for the revitalized Byzantine presence in Crimea). The majority of the Eastern Slavs were tributaries of the Khazars at this time (the Russian chronicles *sub anno* 859 record that the Poliane, Severiane and Viatiči were paying tribute to the Khazars[241]). The Ruś do not become a major threat until after they united the various Slavic and Finnic tribes and made Kiev their center. Bearing these considerations in mind, it seems quite likely that Sarkel was built to be used against all comers, but primarily those of the steppe. It was Khazaria's eye on the Hungarians and later the Pečenegs who were moving westward into the Pontic steppe at this time. More importantly, it was a vital part of the Byzantine defense system, for whatever steppe grouping went past Sarkel could soon be expected on the Danube.

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During the Caliphate of Al-Wāthiq (842–847), two Arab embassies came to Khazaria. One, that of the Astronomer Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Xwārizmī was sent to "Ṭarxān the King of the Khazars" for reasons that have

[239] J. B. Bury, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire* (reprint: New York, 1965), pp. 417–418; Artamonov, *op. cit.*, p. 304; I. M. Šekera, *Mižnarodni zviazky Kyïvśkoï Rusi* (Kyïv, 1963), pp. 26–28. I have treated this and related questions in my "Migrations of the Oğuz" *Archivum Ottomanicum*, IV (1972).

[240] A. A. Vasiliev, *The First Russian Attack on Constantinople*, pp. 71–89, esp. pp. 82–83.

[241] *PSRL*, I, p. 19; *PSRL*, II, p. 14.

yet to be elucidated. The other, that of Sallām the Interpreter, was a by-product of his commission to journey to the wall of Gog and Magog. Again, we are left, tantalizingly, without details. This is all the more regrettable with regard to Sallām for he was apparently an expert in the Turkic languages.[242]

The attention of the Khazars was not entirely riveted to the steppe. The North Caucasus still remained an important part of the Khazar state. The Qağans of Atil/İtil were often drawn into the multitude of squabbles that arose in this ethnically mixed area. Small-scale fighting between the Khazars and Arabs in this region also continued. Thus, Müneccimbaşı reports that in 237/851, the Turk Abū Mūsā Buğa was victorious over the Alans and Khazars.[243] The *K'art'lis C'xovreba* provides additional information on Buğa's actions: "He [Buğa p.g.] turned back and wintered in Bardav [Bardha'a of the Arab sources, Partaw of the Armenian sources p.g.]. He seized a certain priest's son who was a *mt'avari* ['chief', 'prince' in this case probably a local governor p.g.] and he annihilated Gardabani. He opened the gate of Daruband [the famous pass of Derbend or Čołay/Čor of the Armenian sources — it was through here that the 'invaders of the north' usually entered Transcaucasia p.g.] and led out the Khazars, three hundred families, and settled them in Šank'ori.[244] From Darialan he led out the Ovsni [Alans p.g.], one hundred families and settled them in Dmanisi and in the coming summer he intended (to go) to Ovset'i. The Amir Mumn ['amir al-mu'minin p.g.], however, when he learned that he [Buğa p.g.] was taking council with the Khazars, his tribesmen ['tomt'a mist'a' — this can also be translated as 'his kinsmen' p.g.] made it known to Buğa that he should leave K'art'li to Humed [Muḥammad p.g.] the son of Xalīl . . ."[245]

It is difficult to tell from the Georgian account whether Musa (usually called "the Turk" — Buğa is a common Turkic name) was actually a Khazar

[242] *See* al-Muqaddasī, ed. de Goeje, p. 362; Ibn Xurdādhbih, ed. de Goeje, p. 162ff (for Sallām) and Ibn Rusta, ed. de Goeje, p. 149 who mentions Sallām's proficiency with Turkic. *See* Dunlop, *op. cit.*, pp. 190ff for a discussion of the notices. Dunlop is mistaken in noting, however, (p. 191) that Ṭarxān cannot be a proper name. Titles were often used as personal names in the Turkic world. *See* below, Chapter Four.

[243] V. F. Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān and Darband* (Cambridge, 1958), p. 25. Al-Ya'qūbī (*see* Houtsma *Ta'rīx*, II, pp. 598–599 and Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie*, I, p. 262) mentions a campaign of Buğa about this time against the Georgian *Canar* with Khazar, Byzantine and "Saqaliba" complications (*see* Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie*, I, pp. 286–288).

[244] This is Šamkor. The notice is confirmed by Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*. ed. de Goeje, p. 203; Hitti, *Origins*, p. 319.

[245] *K'art'lis C'xovreba*, I, pp. 256–257.

Muslim in Arab service or whether the chronicler was simply indicating the fact that both Musa and the Khazars were Turks. As Musa is not elsewhere known as a Khazar, the latter supposition seems more correct.

Apparently sometime in early (spring?) 861 (i.e. after the alleged "discovery", Jan. 30, 861, of the "relics" of St. Clement in the Crimea), a Byzantine diplomatic mission led by the future "apostle to the Slavs" Constantine (St. Cyril), arrived at the Khazar capital Atil/Itil. According to the *Vita Constantini* the initiative for this embassy came from the Khazar Qağan who was about to hold a religious debate at his court. As is known from Mas'ūdī, the Khazar Qağan and his entourage converted to Judaism sometime during the reign of Hārūn ar-Rašīd, i.e. not later than 809 (the year of Hārūn's death, *see* n. 207). What purpose might be served by yet another learned disputation at the Khazar court is unknown. It is possible that such a debate should be connected with the reforming activities of the Qağan Obadiah (mentioned in the Qağan Joseph's letter) "from among the sons of Bulan" (the first Qağanal convert to Judaism) who gathered Jewish scholars to his court, built synagogues etc. Constantine, of course, could hardly qualify as a Jewish scholar. What may be obscured in the letter is the fact of another debate (to silence the opposition?). Given the paucity of our sources, we can do little more than speculate.[246]

We have noted two forces, the Ruś and the Turkic tribes of the steppe (Oğuz and Pečeneg), in whose growing strength the seeds of the destruction of Khazaria lay. By 885, the Ruś had succeeded in uniting the Eastern

[246] For the *Vita Constantini see*: T. Lehr-Spławiński, *Żywoty Konstantyna i Metodego (Obszerne)* (Poznań, 1959), pp. 27ff. or *Constantinus et Methodius Thessalonicenses, Fontes (Konstantin i Metodije Solunjani, Izvori)*, eds. F. Grivec, F. Tomšić in *Radovi Staroslavenskog Instituta* (Zagrab), IV (1960), pp. 109ff. Grivec's earlier work [F. Grivec, *Slovanska apostola sv. Ciril in Metod* (Ljubljana, 1927), pp. 33–38] contains only a para-phrase of the *Vita* with little by way of commentary. For Joseph's letter *see* Kokovtsov, *op. cit.*, pp. 80, 97.

The paucity of our sources can be contrasted with the wealth of historical speculation found in the secondary literature. Ostrogorsky (*Hist. Byz. State*, 1969 rev. ed., p. 229), Grégoire [and Jenkins, "The Amorians and Macedonians 842–1025" in *CMH*, IV/1 (1966) p. 111] and Obolensky [in his article "The Empire's Northern Neighbors, 565–1018" in *CMH*, IV/1 (1966), p. 496 and recent book *The Byzantine Commonwealth, Eastern Europe 500–1453* (London, 1971), p. 177] all connect the embassy with the Ruś attack on Constantinople in 860 (it began in June 860, *see* Vasiliev, *The First Russian Attack*, p. 203). Bury (*History of the Eastern Roman Empire*, pp. 394ff), however, states that "his [Constantine's p. g.] visit to the Khazars for missionary purposes is an undoubted fact . . .." Certainly all of these factors have to be taken into account. Unfortunately, some of the above-named scholars have woven rather complicated tales regarding this mission.

Slavic tribes.[247] The expansion of the Ruś now brought them face to face with the Khazars whose power was dwindling. The Ruś were drawn to the Volga because of the lucrative trade routes that passed through Atil/Itil from the lands of Islam. During the reign of Ḥasan ibn Zaid (864–884) the first mention is made of a Ruś raid in the Caspian. The raid was unsuccessful. Sometime around 910, the Ruś again raided the Caspian ports, this time in strength. They returned in the following year and were again beaten off with considerable losses.[248] Masʿūdī reports a raid after the year 300/912–13. He says that the Ruś were able to carry out this raid with the connivance of the Khazar Qağan. The conduct of the latter is not entirely understandable. The Ruś, according to Masʿūdī, agreed to give the Qağan half of the booty they would obtain from the expedition. In return for this, the Qağan agreed to let the Ruś use the Don–Volga portage, sail down the Volga, past Atil/Itil, and thus enter the Caspian. When the Muslim inhabitants of Khazaria learned of what had befallen their correligionists on the Caspian coast, they sought to take revenge on the Ruś who were by this time returning up the Volga. The Qağan was apparently powerless to restrain his Muslim subjects (his personal bodyguard was composed of Muslims) and could only warn the Ruś of their impending doom. Masʿūdī says that 30,000 Ruś were killed (an impossibly large figure).[249] Why did the Qağan enter into such a venture which was sure to rouse the ire of his Muslim subjects at home and would interrupt trade coming up the Volga from the very lands the Ruś hoped to pillage? It was from this commerce that the Qağan derived his wealth. The *Taʾrīx al-Bāb* reports that the Khazars and their allies were engaged in a war with the ruler of Bāb al-Abwāb in 300/912. Hostilities seem to have been going on since 901 with the balance in the Khazar favor.[250] How large a war this was, if, indeed, it was a war and not simply a series of border skirmishes, is difficult to determine. We know from Masʿūdī

[247] *PSRL*, I, pp. 22–24; *PSRL*, II, p. 17.

[248] B. Dorn, *Caspia* (SPb, 1875), pp. 5–6; Minorsky (*A History of Sharvān*, p. 111) dates these two raids 297/909 and 298/910 respectively. Aliev [S. Aliev, "O datirovke nabega rusov, upomianutyx ibn Isfandiiarom i Amoli" in *Vostočnye istočniki po istorii narodov Iugo-Vostočnoi i Tsentral'noi Evropy*, ed. A. S. Tveritinova (Moskva, 1969), II, pp. 316–321] on the basis of new editions of our primary sources (apparently also used by Minorsky) for these raids, places the second raid in October 910 and the third raid in 299/911–912.

[249] Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, II, pp. 10, 18–23. Earlier scholarship identified this raid with the third Ruś raid. Minorsky already expressed doubt as to the identicity of these two raids (Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān*, p 112 n. 1). Aliev ("O datirovke nabega rusov," II, pp. 319–321) dates the raid mentioned by al-Masʿūdī to after 310/922.

[250] Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān*, pp. 26, 42.

that the royal guard of the Qağan (7,000 strong in his time) would not fight against their Muslim correligionists.[251] We do not know, however, how large a non-Muslim army the Qağan could muster. If the bulk of his troops were Muslim, then his wars with the Muslims of Bāb must have been on a small scale, for he would have had few troops to use. On the other hand, the Muslim sources may very well exaggerate the role of their brothers in Atil/İtil. The Ruś and Ṣaqāliba (Slavs) also served in the armies of the Qağan[252] as did, doubtless, shamanist Turkic auxiliaries, Finnic and Ugrian subjects of the Khazars and the Khazars themselves. Unfortunately, we have no non-Muslim sources to counterbalance the picture painted by the Arabo–Persian geographers of the internal structure of the Qağanate. One may hypothesize, concerning the Ruś Caspian expedition, that the Qağan was the creature of his royal guard and may have hoped to use the Ruś to counterbalance its power or, that the Ruś acted as allies of the Qağan and that the expedition was part of a well-planned assault (the Ruś by sea, the Khazars by land) on the Caspian Muslim possessions (thus the fighting with the armies of Bāb). Neither explanation is satisfactory. The latter view, however, seems less likely ; for the Qağan was unable to restrain his Muslim subjects from slaughtering the returning Ruś. Thus, the Qağan's reasons for consenting to the raid remain a mystery.

In 943–4, the Ruś again attempted a daring raid on the Caspian coastal cities. Their goal this time was Bardhaʿa in Adharbayjan. The town was seized and the invaders attempted to settle there. They held it for six months before succumbing to sickness from eating the fruits of the country and as a result were forced to return to their own lands.[253] N. Ia. Polovoi argues that the Khazars, as before, approved of this expedition which they hoped would weaken their enemies and assuage the hunger of the Ruś for expansion and booty.[254] Again, these are speculations, unsupported by the available sources.

In any event, the campaign brought about a new phase in Russo–Khazar relations. We learn from the letter of the Qağan Joseph (written shortly before 965) that the Khazars were no longer willing to give the Ruś passage

[251] Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, II, p. 10.

[252] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

[253] Dasxuranc'i, *History*, trans. Dowsett, p. 224 ; Ibn Miskawaih, *The Eclipse of the ʿAbbâsid Caliphate*, ed. H. F. Amedroz, trans. D. S. Margoliouth (Oxford, 1921), V, pp. 67–73. A brief notice on the raid is found in al-Maqdisī, *Kitāb al-Badʾ wa't-Tawārīx*, ed. C. Huart (Paris, 1899–1919, reprint 1962), IV, pp. 66–67.

[254] N. Ia. Polovoi, "O maršrute poxoda russkix na Berdaa i russko–xazarskix otnošeniiax v 943 g." *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, XXV. (1961), pp. 97–98.

down the Volga to raid the Caspian, nor allow them to raid Bāb. The Qağan adds: "I war with them. If I left them (in peace) for one hour, they would destroy the entire land of the Ishmaelites up to Bagdad."[255] The situation had indeed changed; for we now see the Khazars acting as a borderguard for the Muslims. Both Dunlop and Polovoi believe that Joseph's refusal to allow the Ruś to enter the Caspian led to Sviatoslav's 965 campaign which brought about the downfall of Khazaria.[256] By excluding the Ruś from the Volga, the Qağan had touched a vital nerve of the economy of these merchant-adventurers. The war which followed was inevitable. It would appear from the Qağan's letter that hostilities were going on for some time. The Russian chronicles tell only of one war in which the shaky edifice that had become the Khazar state fell. The account of the chronicle is as follows: "In the year 6473 (965) Sviatoslav advanced on the Khazars. The Khazars hearing of this came out against (him) with their prince, the Qağan and entered into battle and there was a fight and Sviatoslav overcame the Khazars and took their city and Běla Věža ('i grad ix i Bělu Věžiu vzia'. Variants give: 'i grad ix Bělu Věžiu vzia': 'and he took their city Běla Věža')."[257]

This notice can be interpreted in several ways: (*i*) Sviatoslav took only Sarkel (= Bělavěža), (*ii*) Sviatoslav took the Khazar capital (Atil/Itil) and Sarkel, (*iii*) Sviatoslav (this is Zaxoder's view) took Atil/Itil part of which was called the "white city".[258] Proposition two seems to be confirmed by other sources. Ibn Ḥawqal tells us that the Ruś sacked Bulğar, Xazarān (a name for one part of the Khazar capital) and Atil/Itil in 358/967.[259] Archaeological finds show that during the second half of the tenth century, Russian colonists begin to move into Sarkel which, after 965, presumably remained in Ruś hands.[260] Ibn Miskawaih also reports the attack on Khazaria in 354/965 but in his account the invaders are Turks. The Khazar Qağan appealed to Xwārizm for aid. This was granted only after the Qağan agreed to accept Islam. Artamonov correctly identifies the Turks here as the Oğuz who entered into an alliance with Sviatoslav just as they would later do with Vladimir I in 985 in a Ruś attack on Bulğar, the capital of Volga

[255] Kokovtsov, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

[256] Polovoi, "O maršrute . . ." *Viz. Vrem.*, XXV (1961), pp. 102–103; Dunlop, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

[257] *PSRL*, I, p. 65; *PSRL*, IX, p. 31.

[258] Zaxoder, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 192–193.

[259] Dunlop, *op. cit.*, p. 242; Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb ṣūrat al-ʿarḍ*, ed J. H. Kramers (Leiden–Leipzig, 1938–39), I, p. 15; II, pp. 392–393.

[260] Artamonov, *op. cit.*, p. 430.

Bulğaria.[261] The discrepancy in the dating of this event by Ibn Ḥawqal and the other sources is probably due to the fact that Ibn Ḥawqal, who received his information from first-hand sources (he was in the Caucasus shortly after the fall of Atıl/İtil), did not learn of the collapse of Khazaria until 967. He writes of the sad state to which Khazaria had fallen: "At present [presumably towards 367/977 — the time in which Ibn Ḥawqal wrote — *see* Dunlop] the Bulğars, Burtas and Khazars have been left nothing by the Ruś except a few ruins which they had already despoiled. They descended upon everything and attained in all their neighborhood more than they dreamed of. I have been informed that many of (the Khazars) have returned to Atil and Xazarān with the support of Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Azdi, the Širwān Shāh, who helped them with his army and people. They [i.e. the Khazars–Dunlop] expect and hope to enter a pact with them [? the Russians–Dunlop] and be under their authority in a part of the continent which they will appoint for them."[262]

The Khazars now gradually fade from history. Khazar Jews are mentioned as coming to Vladimir I in 986 in connection with the religious debates that

[261] *See* Dunlop, *op. cit.*, pp. 244ff; Artamonov, *op. cit.*, pp. 431, 434. For the Arab account, *see* Ibn Miskawaih, *The Eclipse of the ʿAbbâsid Caliphate*, ed. H. F. Amedroz, trans. D. S. Margoliouth (Oxford, 1920), (Arabic text), II, p. 209, (Eng. trans.), V, p. 223. Ibn al-Athīr reports the same, adding that the Qağan converted after the Xwārizmians drove off the "Turks." *See* ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon quod perfectissimum inscribitur Al-Kāmil fī't-Ta'rīx*, ed. C. J. Tornberg (Leiden, 1851–1876, reprint, with slightly different pagination: Beirut, 1965–1966) VIII, p. 565 of Beirut ed.

The situation described here is perfectly plausible for we know from al-Bīrūnī, [al-Bīrūnī, *Al-Athār al-Baqīyah*, p. 236] that Xwārizm fought with the Oğuz at the onset of every winter. Archaeological evidence (*see* S. P. Tolstov, *Po sledam drevnexorezmiiskoi tsivilizatsii*, Moskva–Leningrad, p. 249) indicates that the Xwarizmians constructed a number of forts on their north-western borders against the Oğuz.

The "Turks" of Ibn Miskawaih are the Oğuz (*see* P. B. Golden, "The Migrations of the Oğuz" *Archivum Ottomanicum*, IV (1972), pp. 77–80). Their erstwhile alliance with the Khazars against the Pečenegs had now turned to enmity as is clear from "The Cambridge Document". The Oğuz, moreover, were under pressure from the Kimäk tribal union as well as from centrifugal tendencies within the Oğuz Yabğu state. Thus, internal and external forces pushed the Oğuz into Khazar territory. The alliance with the Ruś was the natural outcome. Khazaria was already considered a crumbling edifice in Constantinople as is clear from the writings of Constantine Porphyrogenitus. The Pečenegs (who occupy the first eight books of the *DAI*!) had apparently replaced the Khazars as the principal tool/ally of Byzantine policy in the steppe. The result was disastrous for Byzantium (on the Byzantine Khazar-Pečeneg policy, *see* D. Obolensky, "The Empire and its Northern Neighbors" in *CMH* IV/1 (1966), pp. 510–512.

[262] *See* Ibn Ḥawqal, ed. Kramers, II, p. 397. The translation given above is Dunlop's (*op. cit.*, p. 246).

are supposed to have preceded his conversion to Christianity. The legend, however, very clearly parallels that of the conversion of the Khazar Qağan to Judaism as given in some Arab sources (al-Bakrī). I think that this legend was incorporated into the Russian chronicles in imitation of the Khazars whose mantle had now fallen to the Ruś. The notice, thus, is probably not historical. It does not mean, however, that there were no Khazar Jews in Kiev. On the contrary, the opposite was true (*see* Introduction p. 20).

In 1016 we hear of a Khazar ruler, Georgius Tzulus/Tzulê, who was attacked by a joint Ruś–Byzantine force.[263] The location of the land in which he ruled is open to dispute. Moravcsik and Artamonov think that the Crimea is intended here. Dunlop suggests the Caucasus but prefaces his remarks with a cautious "perhaps". More recently, the article by H. Gregoire and R. Jenkins in the new *Cambridge Medieval History* has suggested that Basil's attack on "the Khazar ports" in 1016 was part of Basil's plan to deal with the Georgian ruler, Giorgi of Abxazia (Apʿxazetʿi), who had broken his father's (Bagrat of Abxazia) agreement and occupied lands (Tao and Phasiane) that were to be Byzantine. The "Khazar ports" are located, in this article, to the north-west of Giorgi's holdings in Transcaucasia.[264]

Khazars are mentioned after this date in connection with events in Ruś and North Caucasian history. They appear, however, only as a small force, no mention being made of their possession of any large territories. Thus, in 1023, Mstislav in his wars with Iaroslav had Khazar and Kasogian (Čerkes) auxiliary forces.[265] Dunlop, citing Ibn al-Athīr, notes that the Amir of Ganja, Faḍlun attacked the Khazars but was defeated by the latter. The Khazars are probably not meant here but rather the Abxaz or Georgians.[266] The *Taʾrix al-Bāb* reports that in 1064 "the remnants of the Khazars, consisting of 3,000 households arrived at the town of Qaḥtan from the

[263] Io. Scylitzes, *Scylitzes-Cedrenus* II, p. 464.

[264] Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 314; *op. cit.*, p. 436; Dunlop, *op. cit.*, p. 252. *See* H. Gregoire (with assistance of R. Jenkins) "The Amorians and Macedonians 842–1025" in *CMH* IV/1 (1966), p. 189. *See* Tzulos/Tzulē/Čur of the Word List.

[265] *PSRL*, I, p. 147; *PSRL*, IX, p. 78.

[266] Dunlop, *op. cit.*, p. 253. Müneccimbaşı mentions an Abxaz attack on Arran in 1026 which Faḍl of Ganja beat off [*see* V. F. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History* (London, 1953), p. 17]. Minorsky (*Ibid.*, p. 42) suggests that Ibn al-Athīr who reports the 1030 Khazar events (*see* Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon*, ed. Tornberg, IX (Beirut ed.) p. 409) has a misprint of الخزر (al-Xazar) for الجزر (al-Jurz). Thus, it was the Georgians (al-Jurz) and not the Khazars that were meant. This is confirmed by Georgian sources which report a series of engagements with the Amir of Ganja in the early 1030's. (*See Kʿartʿlis Cʿxovreba*, I, p. 296 and Javaxišvili, *op. cit.*, II, p. 137).

Khazar territory. They rebuilt it and settled in it".[267] These Khazars may well have been refugees from the Polovtsy (Qumans or Qıpčaq Turks) who were just now beginning to make their presence felt in the Pontic steppes.

In 1079 and 1083 Khazars are again mentioned in the Russian chronicles in connection with events in the principality of Tmutorokań where they appear to have wielded some power.[268] Individual Khazars evidently took service with the various Ruś princes, for in 1106 we read of an Ivan Kozarin (Ivan the Khazar), the *voevoda* of Kiev who drove off a Polovtsian attack.[269] Documents from the Cairo Genizah purport to tell of messianic movements in "Khazaria" in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Artamonov suspects that Khazar Jewish colonies in the Crimea are meant here.[270] Hungarian Latin sources mention a "princeps Bissenorum [= Hung. *Besenyő* = *Pečeneg* p.g.] nomine Kazar".[271] This may very well be a Khazar chieftain who remained in the steppe and took service with the Pečenegs. This was probably the fate of most of the Khazars. They remained where they were, regrouped, were joined to new and stronger forces and changed their name in accordance with the new tribe to which they belonged. It is only in this way that the "disappearance" of the Khazars can be explained. It is a process that we have already seen in the Turkic steppe. The collapse and "disappearance" of the Khazar state had, as was already noted, a disastrous effect on Byzantium. The latter was no longer able to control the flow of steppe peoples. With Khazar might gone, whatever crossed the Volga eventually came to the Danube and from there into the Balkans. Thus, the Pečenegs, Oğuz and Qumans, in succession, troubled the Empire's northwestern borders. More importantly, the dynamic Oğuz tribal union, long held in check by the Khazars, now no longer felt a restraining hand. Driven by internal and external pressures, some elements went to the Balkans. Another, more important faction, led by Seljuq at the end of the 10th century started that chain of events that led to the Seljuq conquest of Asia Minor. In effect, the collapse of Khazaria, Byzantium's *volens nolens* first line of defense against the Turkic steppe, ultimately gave rise to those forces that, combined with the very serious internal crises which Byzantium underwent in the fifty years following the death of Basil II, directly contributed to the collapse of the Empire.

[267] Minorsky, *History of Sharvān* p. 51. In his commentary Minorsky changes 3,000 to 300. The Arabic text (p. 24) gives 3,000. Minorsky, (p. 107) places Qaḥtan in the region of Xaydaq, lands now occupied by the Turkic Qumuqs.

[268] *PSRL*, I, pp. 204, 205; *PSRL*, IX, p. 110.

[269] *PSRL*, IX, p. 140.

[270] Dunlop, *op. cit.*, pp. 254–56; Artamonov, *op. cit.*, p. 444.

[271] Thuróczi, cap. 500 cited Németh, *HMK*, p. 84.

CHAPTER THREE

THE KHAZAR QAĞANATE: PEOPLES AND INSTITUTIONS

Khazaria at its height was a vast and multinational empire. Its borders (which are nowhere clearly delineated) can be approximated thus (see Map on p. 264):

Northern frontier: Volga Bulğaria.
Southern frontier: South-West: Northern Crimea; South-East: North-Eastern section of North Caucasus (NE Dağistan) down to Darband.
Western frontier: area from Donets–Don to Kiev.
Eastern frontier: stretching up to Xwarizm (?).

It is fitting that we look at some of the vassal states (Ibn Faḍlān states that there were twenty-five peoples who were subjects of the Khazar Qağan[272]) of the Qağanate.

Volga Bulgaria

Archaeological finds confirm the coming of the Oğur Turks to the middle Volga area in the seventh and eighth centuries.[273] This is in connection with the events described in Theophanes and Nicephorus concerning the breakup of Magna Bulgaria (*see* above). Although the Oğuric speaking Bulğars were politically the ruling ethnic group in Volga Bulğaria; they appear to have been a minority within their own state. The bulk of the population was of Turkic (speaking Common Turkic) and Finno-Ugrian stock. The Bulğars were able to conquer this area probably because of their superior military power and organization. The situation was not unlike that which

[272] Ibn Faḍlān, ed. trans Kovalevskii, (Arabic text) p. 313, (trans.) p. 147 or Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, (Arabic text) p. 44, (trans.) p. 100.

[273] A. P. Smirnov (*Železnyi vek čuvašskogo Povolž'ia* in *Materialy i issledovaniia po arxeologii SSSR* 95 (1961) writes (p. 135): "The movement of the Saltovo culture, with which the arrival of the Bulğars is connected, judging from the comparative analysis of the Bulgar burial mound of Novi Pazar and those of Kaibela and Bol'še Tarxan, began around the eighth century . . . (p. 136). Judging from the archaeological monuments of Čuvašia, the bearers of Bulgar culture appear there in the ninth or perhaps even the eighth century". Smirnov's dating is somewhat later than that generally accepted.

Asparux faced on coming to the Danube.[274] Ibn Rusta, writing in the early tenth century but using earlier sources, reports: "The Bulğars (بلكر) are divided into three classes: one class is called Barṣūlā [compare this with Berzilia, an early Khazar center — the Barṣūlā were undoubtedly part of the mass of Oğur refugees driven from their lands by the Khazars p.g.], the second Asgal/Asğal [اسغل = اسكل of other sources[275] p.g.] and the third Bulğar. The form of living of each of them is on the same level. The Khazars carry on trade with them and similarly the Ruś bring them their goods. All of those who live on both sides of the above mentioned river [the Volga p.g.] bring their goods to them: sables, ermine, squirrels and others. They are agriculturalists and they produce all sorts of grains; wheat, barley, millet. The majority of them profess Islam . . . They pay tribute to their king in horses and other things . . . When Muslim merchant ships come to them they take a tax of ten percent of their goods from them . . . Their main wealth consists of marten furs. They have no minted money. In lieu of coins they use marten skins . . ."[276]

Ibn Faḍlān who visited the Volga Bulğars in 921–22 as part of an embassy from the Caliph al-Muqtadir provides even more details on the ethnic complexion of Volga Bulğaria. He mentions a tribe Suwāz (the text[277] may be read as either *Suwān* or *Suwāz;* Kovalevskii chooses, correctly in my view, *Suwāz* سواز, a corruption of سوار *Suwār*) which should certainly be connected with the Suwār, a kingdom in the North Caucasus mentioned by Ibn Xurdādhbih and the Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam[278] and with the Suwār of

[274] Gening, Xalikov, *op. cit.*, pp. 162, 170, 174.

[275] It is unclear what relation, if any, the *Asgal/Asğal* may have had with the *Izgil* of the Kültigin inscription. *See* Malov, *Pamiatniki drevnetiurkskoi pišmennosti* (runic text) p. 26, (transliteration) p. 32, or the *Iškil* of the later Uyğurs (*see* Bretschneider, *Medieval Researches*, I, pp. 259–260 and Pritsak, "Stammesnamen" *UAJb*, XXIV, p. 57, both citing Rašid ad-Dīn). Ibn Rusta, ed. de Goeje, p. 142 in his section on the Majğarīyah, uses the spelling *'skl.*

[276] Ibn Rusta, ed. de Goeje, pp. 141–142; Xvol'son, *Izvestiia Ibn Dasta*, pp. 22–25.

[277] Ibn Faḍlān, trans. ed. Kovalevskii, p. 321 (= facsimile of p. 208b of Mašhad MS.); Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, (Arabic text) p. 33 (trans.) p. 74.

[278] Ibn Xurdādhbih, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l Mamālik*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1889), pp. 124–125; Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, pp. 162, 454–455. *See* also Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie*, I, pp. 72–73. The name is probably a form of Sabir. If the Suwār of Volga Bulğaria are, indeed, the Sabirs, it would appear that either not all the Sabirs came down to the North Caucasus in the sixth century or that not all the Sabirs in the North Caucasus elected to join the Khazar confederation and some migrated up the Volga together with the Bulğars. One is tempted to identify the Common Turkic speaking elements found amongst the Volga Bulğars with the Sabirs. There is, however, not enough evidence to substantiate such an identification.

Maḥmūd Kāšğarī who live in the neighborhood of Bulğar.[279] Other refugees from the North Caucasian steppes among the Volga Bulğars may be seen in the Baranjār who, according to Ibn Faḍlān, were 5,000 in number.[280] The Baranjār probably originated from the Khazar city of Balanjar,[281] which was frequently the site of Arab–Khazar battles (*see* above). Ibn Faḍlān also mentions the large quantities of grains and comments "everyone who has planted something, takes it for himself". In spite of all this evidence of sedentary life, the Bulğars still lived in the traditional nomadic "yurt". The yurt of the king was particularly large (Ibn Faḍlān says it could hold 1,000 people) with all the trimmings of a palace including a throne.[282] For all of this display, the Bulğar ruler was a tributary of the Khazar Qağan, forced to send his son to Atıl/İtil as a hostage and to give his daughters to the Khazar ruler. It was due to the unpleasant experiences connected with this latter practice that the Bulğars sought the closer cooperation of the Arabs.[283]

The Burṭās

South of Volga Bulğaria and directly north of the Khazar lands proper, lay the Burṭās territory. The latter were a Uralic people. Ibn Rusta gives a brief description of the Burṭās who played a great role in the fur trade: "The land of the Burṭās lies between that of the Khazars and Bulğars at a distance of fifteen days' journey from the former. The Burṭās are subject to the King of the Khazars and they put forth 10,000 horsemen in the field... They have no supreme head who could govern them and whose power would be recognized. They have in each settlement only one or two headmen to whom they come for judgement . . . Their religion is like that of the Oğuz (Ğuzz). The Burṭās have camels, cattle and much honey; their main wealth is in marten furs . . . They are agriculturalists but their main wealth is honey, marten furs and furs in general."[284]

[279] Kāšğarī, *Dīvān*, ed. Atalay, pp. 25, 27. Maḥmūd Kāšğarī notes that in his day the Bulğar, Suwar, Yemek and Qıpčaqs all pronounce *dh* as *z*. The Suwar, Oğuz and Qıpčaqs also change *m* into *b*.

[280] Ibn Faḍlān, trans. ed. Kovalevskii, pp. 138, 323 (f. 207b); Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, (Arabic text) p. 30, (trans.) p. 68.

[281] For *r-l* oscillation in Turkic *see* the Word List in Chapter Four.

[282] Ibn Faḍlān, trans. ed. Kovalevskii, pp. 136–137, 324 (f. 207a), (trans.) pp. 136–137; Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, (Arabic text) p. 28, (trans.) p. 64.

[283] Ibn Faḍlān, trans. ed. Kovalevskii, (Arabic text) p. 319 (f. 209b), (trans.) pp. 140–141.

[284] Ibn Rusta, ed. de Goeje, pp. 140–141; Xvol'son, *Izvestiia Ibn Dasta*, pp. 19–21.

Until very recently, it was widely held (though not universally accepted) that the Burṭās (برطاس, برداس Russ. *Burtas, Brutas*) were the ancestors of the Volga Finnic Mordvins of today. This view has long met opposition and has, I think, been laid to rest by B. A. Vasil'ev ["Problema Burtasov i Mordva" *Voprosy ėtničeskoi istorii mordovskogo naroda, Trudy Instituta Ėtnografii*, 63 (1960), pp. 180–210]. Vasil'ev argues that (*i*) the Old Ruś sources (Late Kievan and Muscovite) carefully distinguish between the Burtas and Mordva [the earliest mention of the ethnonym *Burtas* in Ruś sources is found in the 13th century "*Slovo o pogibeli ruskyia zemli*", *see:* Iu. K. Begunov, *Pamiatnik russkoi literatury XIII veka "Slovo o pogibeli russkoi zemli"* (Moskva–Leningrad, 1965), pp. 154ff]; (*ii*) the Arab sources (*see* Ibn Rusta above) state that (*a*) the religion of the Burtas was like that of the Oğuz, (*b*) they possessed a large cavalry (*see* above) thereby indicating ties with the nomadic, Turkic world; (*iii*) the emphasis on the uniqueness of the Burtas language stressed in the Arab sources [*cf.* Iṣṭaxrī: "the Burṭās have another (language)", i.e. one distinct from those of the Khazars, Bulğars, Ruś etc., *see* Iṣṭaxrī, ed. de Goeje, p. 225] probably points to its being a Ugric language; (*iv*) a Ugric (Magyar!)-speaking population was still found in the 13th century "on the right bank of the Volga, in the Volga–Don mesopotamia"; (*v*) the Meščers ("Meščerskaia zemlia") which he derives from *Mäšer, Možer* etc., whose name first appears in the 14th century, are Turkicized Ugrians. Their turkicization took place during Quman (Polovets) times. This process, undergone by Ugrians on both sides of the Volga, was carried out by the Qumans. The left-bank Možars became the Turkic-speaking (Qumano–Qıpčaq dialect) Baškirs of today. The Mišar Tatars are also descendants of these Turkicized Ugrians, i.e. the Burtas.[285]

I think that there is little doubt that the Burtas formed a distinct ethno-political grouping not to be confused with the *Mordva*. The jump, however, from Burtas to Meščer–Magyar/Možar–Mišär is not that certain. We have, of course, no direct evidence that the Burtas spoke a Ugric dialect. We can be relatively certain, given the general ethnic milieu in which we find them, that they were Uralic (though even this may not be so), but no more. A weak point in Vasil'ev's argumentation is the absence of any memory of the Burtas in Hungarian tradition. Moreover, Vasil'ev has not shown how *Burtas* becomes *Meščer* i.e. what factors brought about the switch in tribal names. The name *Burtas* has yet to be satisfactorily explained. In summary, then, I believe we can accept his disassociation of the Burtas from the

[285] *See* Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, pp. 462–465; Vasil'ev, "Problema Burtasov i Mordva" *Trudy Instituta Ėtnografii*, 63 (1960), pp. 200ff.

Mordva as well as his later comments regarding the Ugric origin and Turkicization of the *Meščera/Magyar/Možer*. The Burtas > Magyar thesis requires further substantiation. The undoubted fact that the Burtas were seminomadic (they possessed a cavalry) would appear to point to the Hungarians, but we cannot be certain.

The North Caucasus

NORTH CAUCASIAN HUNS

The most important vassal state of the Khazar Qağanate in the Caucasian area was the state of the North Caucasian Huns. The "Armenian Geography" ascribed to Movsēs Xorenacʿi describes it thus: "North of Darband is the kingdom of the Huns, near the sea. In its western (part) is *Varačʿan, the city of the Huns, and Čungars and *Směndr̆. Towards the East live the Savirkʿ [Sabirs — this was the area later held by the Khazars p.g.] up to the river Tʿald [= Atil p.g.] . . ."[286]

Movsēs Dasxurancʿi informs us that in 681, the ruler of the Huns was Alpʿ Il-itʿuer who was a vassal of the Khazar Qağan.[287] Dasxurancʿi, one of our most important sources for early Khazar history, has left us an interesting account of the religion of the Huns: "For that tribe, demented in their satanically deluded tree-worshiping errors in accordance with their northern dull-witted stupidity, addicted to their fictitious and deceptive religion, imagined this filthy heathen cult to be a great religion. If flashes of thundering fiery lightning and ethereal fire struck a man or some material object, they considered him or it to be some sort of sacrifice to a god Kʿuar. Using

[286] For this passage *see: Geographie de Moïse Corène*, ed. trans. A. Soukry (Venise, 1881), (text) p. 27, (trans.) p. 37. The Armenian forms are Վարաչան *Varačʿan*, Չունդարս *Čʿundars*, Մսքնդր *Msĕndr* Թաղլ *Tʿald*. Marquart who discusses this passage (with translation, *see Streifzüge*, p. 58), after some hesitation (*see* his "Zusätze und Berichtigungen" to the *Streifzüge*, p. 492) drops the readings *Čʿundars* (i.e. Չունդարս for Չունգարս) in favor of an emendation to *Բլունգար *Blungar* i.e. Balanjar. As *Čʿungars/Čʿundars* is nowhere else mentioned and Balanjar is logically expected here, Marquart's emendation seems cogent. *See* Chapter Four *sub Balanǰar*.

[287] Dasxurancʿi, *History*, trans. Dowsett, p. 160. The linguistic material we have on the North Caucasian Huns will be discussed in the Khazar Word List, Chapter Four. These include several titles and some religious terms. Lewicki [T. Lewicki, "Ludy Daghestanu i północnego Kaukazu w oczach wczesnośredniowiecznych pisarzy arabskich (IX–X w.)" *PO*, (1963), pp. 98–99] identifies the region of the North Caucasian Huns with the Qaytaq.

horses as burnt offerings they worship some gigantic savage monster whom they invoke as the god T'angri Xan . . . Possessing completely anarchical minds they stumble into every sort of error, beating drums and whistling over corpses, inflicting bloody sabre and dagger cuts on the cheek and limbs, and engaging naked in sword fights — O hellish sight — at the graves . . . Numerous groups wrestled with each other and in the orgy performed swift gallops on horseback, wheeling this way and that. Some were occupied in weeping and wailing, others in a game of diabolical fury . . . They made sacrifices to fire and water and to certain gods of the roads, and to the moon and to all creatures considered in their eyes to be in some way remarkable . . . [there are] tall, leafy oak-trees which were dedicated to the abominable Aspandiat [Tengri Xan p.g.] and to which they sacrificed horses, pouring their blood over the trees and throwing their heads and skins over the branches . . ."[288]

The worship of fire, thunder and lightning is well known to the Turkic shamanists who considered fire a purifying element. To the shamanists of the Altay, lightning and other phenomena of nature are considered expressions of Ülgen's power (Ülgen is the principal god). Some shamanists believe that lightning is a separate god: "This god pursues the evil spirits on the earth, he sends fire to the trees where the evil spirits are hidden. If one takes and hides a piece of a tree which has been filled by lightning, the evil spirits cannot enter that place."[289] Tree worship is also widely

[288] Dasxuranc'i, *History*, trans. Dowsett, pp. 155–156, 161.

[289] A. *İnan, Tarihte ve bugünkü şamanizm* (Ankara, 1954), pp. 20–30, 68. On Turkic shamanism *see* W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien* (Leipzig, 1884, second printing 1893). *See also* the recent Turkish translation: W. Radloff, *Sibirya'dan*, trc. A. Temir (Istanbul, 1954–1956). The *Wei-shu* writes of the Uyğurs: "They love thunder claps. At every thunder clap they shout and shoot (their arrows) into the heavens; then they leave that place and disperse. In the next year, in Autumn, when the horses fatten, they again gather at the site of the thunder clap; they bury a ram and kindle a light with a knife. The shamaness recites prayers just as in China when driving away misfortune. Crowds of men on horseback make numerous circles around this site. Then, a man takes a bunch of willow or black poplar branches and places them butt end up and pours *Qumıs* over them. The woman, having wrapped ram's bones in an animal hide, places it on her head and twists her hair around it in curls and lets it down and it has the form of a diadem. They carry the dead to a grave that has been dug out and place the corpse in the middle with a drawn bow in his hands, girded with a sword and a spear under his arm, as if he were alive, but they do not fill the grave. If someone dies from a thunder clap or an epidemic they pray for good fortune. If all ends well, they slaughter numerous cattle of various types to show appreciation to the spirits and they burn his bones and then ride around this place on horses. Sometimes, they make

attested to amongst the pagan Turkic peoples. The Qırğız who destroyed the Uyğur state in 840, worshipped trees. The forests of the Ötüken *(Ötüken yıš)* were sacred to the Kök Türks. The Shi'ite Qara Qoyunlu worshipped a sacred forest and the North Caucasian Noğays also revere the tree. The Uyğurs believed that their Xans were created from a tree.[290] Horse sacrifices were still practised by the Altai Turks in the ninteenth century. Radloff, who studied these tribes first-hand, has numerous references to this in his *Aus Sibirien* (*see* also Theophylactus Simocatta in n. 289). These same Altay shamanists in their prayers still called on *Xan Tengere*. The principal god of the Kök Türks was Kök Tengri. According to Abdülkadir İnan, the worship of the sun, moon and stars (known also to the Hiung-nu) was connected with the Kök Tengri cult.[291]

The burial practices and the forms of the graves of the North Caucasian Huns show great similarities to those of the Kök Türks, Oğuz and Qumans amongst others but are different from the graves ascribed to the Oğuric Turks. Dasxuranc'i mentions the "tall idols and the *čop'ayk'* with the filthy skins of the altars".[292] This corresponds to the *Balbal* (idols, which the Russians also call "kamennye baby") that were placed around the graves *(qurğans)* of Oğuz and Quman chiefs. The heads, feet and tails of sacrificed animals were placed on poles at the corners of these graves.[293] The ceremonies that took place at the graves of the Huns as described by Dasxuranc'i, are like those of the Kök Türks. According to the *Ch'ou-shu:* "...when one of them [a Kök Türk p.g.] dies, his corpse is laid out in a tent. All the children and grandchildren, male and female relatives of the deceased each slaughter a sheep and a horse and place it in front of the tent as an offering. Then they ride on horse back around the tent seven times and each time,

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several hundred of these circles . . ." (*See* N. Ia. Bičurin, *Sobranie svedenii o narodax obytavšix v Srednei Azii v drevnie vremena* (Moskva–Leningrad, 1950 — reprint of 1851 edition), I. pp. 215–216. Theophylactus Simocatta in this regard writes of the Kök Türks: "They revere to strange excess fire, they honor air and water, they sing hymns to the earth. They worship solely and call God he who has made the heaven and earth. They sacrifice horses, cows and sheep to him. They have made priests those in whom they think there is demonstrated the ability to fortell the future". (Theophylactus Simocatta, *Historia,* Bonn ed., p. 286).

[290] İnan, *op. cit.*, pp. 8, 62–65.

[291] İnan, *op. cit.*, pp. 2, 8, 26–29.

[292] Dasxuranc'i, *History,* trans. Dowsett, pp. 165–66. As to the meaning of *čop'ay* see below p. 259.

[293] İnan, *op. cit.*, pp. 9–10, 178–79.

when they come to the entrance of the tent, they cut their face with a knife. Then they wail so that the blood and tears flow down together . . ."[294]

The remnants of the North Caucasian Hunnic language that we have at our disposal are not sufficient to determine what type of Turkic they spoke. It is not entirely clear whether these "Huns" were actually a Khazar tribe or separate people joined to the Khazar state. Artamonov suggests that the kingdom of the Huns should be connected with the Kingdom of the Suwār mentioned in Ibn-Xurdādhbih. Soviet archaeologists have shown that the North Caucasian Huns had a well developed urban life and many fortified settlements.[295]

Aside from kindred Turkic peoples, the lands of Šandan and *Xaydāq/J̌īdān* (خيداق — جيدان) (there are some difficulties in the reading. Minorsky on the basis of the spellings found in the *Ta'rīx al-Bāb* emends the form جيدان *(J̌īdān)* found in the de Meynard–de Courteille Paris edition of Masʿūdī to خيداق *(Xaydāq)*[296]) inhabited by Palaeo-Caucasian peoples were under Khazar control.[297] There is almost nothing that can be said about these peoples that would not enter the realm of speculation. Our sources simply note that these countries were under the power of the Khazars.

THE ALANS

One of the most important of the steppe peoples to play a role in North Caucasian and Khazar history were the Alans, a people of Iranian origin, the ancestors of the present day Osetins [polemics are still being waged on this topic. *See* J. Harmatta, *Studies in the Language of the Iranian Tribes in South Russia* (Budapest, 1952) and the more recent collection of articles *Proisxoždeniie osetinskogo naroda*, ed. Iu. S. Gagloiti (Ordžonikidze, 1967)]. We are fortunate in that we possess a wide range of sources for Khazar–Alan relations, including a document of Khazar origin *(The Cambridge Document)*.

The Muslim geographers give us a good description of the North Caucasian Alan Kingdom. Masʿūdī writes: "Then follows the kingdom of the Alān

[294] Liu Mau-tsai, *op. cit.*, I, p. 9. *See also* L. Jisl "Wie sahen die alten Türken aus?" *UAJb*, 40 (1968), pp. 183–184. Jisl points out that the Tung-huang frescoes from 763–820 show figures (Turks) cutting their faces with knives in grief over the dead Buddha (*see* plates VI–VII following p. 186 of Jisl's article). The *Ch'ou-shu*'s account should be compared with that of the Bishop Israyēl as recorded in Dasxuranc'i and the *Wei-shu*.

[295] Artamonov, *op. cit.*, 183, 190.

[296] Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān*, p. 92, n. 4.

[297] Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, II, p. 7; Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān*, pp. 92–95, 101–104.

(al-Lān) whose king is called K-rk-ndāj [Minorsky, *History of Sharvān and Darband*, p. 156 correctly connects this title with the Khazar surname Kundāj, *Kundāg, *see* Word List, p.g.] which is a common name of all their kings . . . The capital of the Alāns is called *Mağas which means * 'a fly'. The king possesses castles and pleasances besides this town and (now and then) he transfers his residence thither . . . After the spread of Islam and the ʿĀbbāsids, the kings of the Alān professed Christianity, whereas before that they had been heathens. After 320/932 they abjured Christianity and expelled the bishops and priests whom the Byzantine emperor had previously sent to them . . . The Alān king (can) muster 30,000 horsemen. He is powerful, very strong and influential (*among?) the kings. His kingdom consists of an uninterrupted series of settlements. When the cocks crow (in one of them) the answer comes from the other parts of the kingdom because the villages are intermingled and close together."[298]

Ibn Rusta writes: ". . .The Alān king is a Christian at heart, but all the people of his kingdom are heathens worshiping idols . . . The Alāns consist of four tribes but their honor and kingship (are concentrated) in one of them [the royal clan p.g.] called D. ḥsās [*Ruxs-Ās, Roxalani? Minorsky, *History of Sharvān and Darband*, p. 169]. The king of the Alāns is called B. ğāy.r [read *Bağatar* — Minorsky, *Ibid.*] which (name) applies to every one of their kings."[299]

It is important to note here that the Alanic titles mentioned in these notices are also found amongst the Khazars.

Specific aspects of Khazar–Alan–Byzantine relations are reported in *The Cambridge Document* and in Chapters ten and eleven of Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *De Administrando Imperio*. The former reports: "Now the king [of the Khazars p.g.] made peace with our neighbor the king of the Alans (מלך אלן) because the kingdom of the Alans is the strongest and the hardest of all the nations that surround us . . . [During the reign of the Qağan Benjamin p.g.] all the nations rose up against (the men of Khazaria) and brought them into straits (according to the counsel) of the king of Macedon [the Byzantine Emperor p.g.]. And there went to battle the king of Āsiā [אסיא this may well be one of the As (Alanic) tribes in the Caspian steppes p.g.] and the *Turks [the manuscript has only טורק which Schechter

[298] Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, II, pp. 42–45. I have given Minorsky's translation here (*See* Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān*, pp. 156–57) which I have checked against the texts of both the Paris and Cairo editions.

[299] Ibn Rusta, ed. de Goeje, p. 148. English translation is Minorsky's. *See, A History of Sharvān*, p. 169.

restores, correctly in my view, to *טורקיא[300]]. This would be the Oğuz, the later Torki of the Russian Chronicles and פיניל [*Painil?* Perhaps this could be read as *פולני Poliane, an Eastern Slavic tribe who in the mid-ninth century were tributaries of the Khazars but by the tenth century had already formed the nucleus around which the Kievan state grew. It most probably is, however, a garbling of *פיצינך **Pitsīnik* = Pečeneg p.g.] and Macedon [the Byzantine Empire p.g.]. Only the king of the Alans was in support of (Khazaria). For some of them observed the Torah of the Jews. (All) these kings waged war against Khazaria. But the king of the Alans went against their land . . . But it happened also in the days of King Aaron that the king of the Alans fought against Khazaria for the king of Greece (מלך יון) incited him. But Aaron hired against him the king of Tūrqīyah (for he was his friend). And the king of the Alans fell before Aaron who caught him alive. But the king honored him (very much) and took his daughter as wife for his son Joseph. Thereupon, the king of the Alans swore unto him in truth. And Aaron the king sent him (to his house). And from that day there fell the fear of Khazaria upon the nations which surrounded them."[301]

This account should be carefully compared with that of Constantine Porphyrogenitus. The latter, writing around 948–951, describes the scene thus:

"*On Khazaria, How and by whom one should wage war with her* — Know you that the Uz [Oğuz p.g.] can make war against the Khazars as they are their neighbors. In similar fashion so can the ruler of Alania, since the nine climes of Khazaria are adjacent to Alania and the Alan can, should he care to, ravage them and thereby cause great damage and want to the Khazars; for from those nine climes is provided the entire livelihood and abundance of Khazaria.

On the Fortress Xerson and the Fortress Bosporus — Know you that if the ruler of Alania is not at peace with the Khazars but rather regards the friendship of the Emperor of the Romans as more valuable, then, if the Khazars do not wish to observe friendship and peace with the Emperor, he [the ruler of the Alans p.g.] can do them great harm by ambushing them on the roads and falling upon them when they are unawares as they journey to Sarkel and the Climes and Xerson. And if this ruler takes pains to keep them in check, Xerson and the climes can enjoy great and profound peace; for the Khazars fear the attacks of the Alans and not being able to attack

[300] *The Cambridge Document* MS T-S Loan, p. 3, Line 51.

[301] *The Cambridge Document*, Ms. Lines 50–60; S. Schechter, "An Unknown Khazar Document" *Jewish Quarterly Review*, new series, III (1912), Hebrew text, pp. 206–209, English translation, pp. 216–217 (which I have used here).

Xerson and the Climes with an army nor being able to simultaneously wage war with the two, they are forced to keep the peace."[302]

Given the lack of chronological data in *The Cambridge Document*, the events here are quite confusing when compared with the account of the Byzantine Emperor-Historian. As concerns the latter, we can be reasonably sure that his information, since his work was meant to be an up-to-date manual on foreign policy for his sons, was contemporary to the time in which he was writing (c. 948–951). At this time the Alans appear to be hostile to the Khazars and potential allies of the Byzantine emperor. According to *The Cambridge Document*, the Alans made peace with the Khazars (was there a war prior to this?) and remained their ally during the reigns of Benjamin and Aaron. But during the later years of the latter's rule, the Alans again evidently gave in to the enticements of the Byzantines only to be routed by Aaron's Oğuz allies after which good relations seem to have been restored.

How, then, are we to date the events described in *The Cambridge Document?* According to the latter, all these events took place before the reign of Joseph, the last Khazar Qağan. We also know from *The Cambridge Document* that the persecution of Byzantine Jewry took place after the Alan–Khazar–Byzantine wars, i.e. during the reign of Joseph.[303] Masʿūdī informs us that these persecutions by Armanūs (Romanus Lecapenus) took place "in our time" (i.e. 332/943). Romanus was out of power by 944. Thus, the events described above must have taken place before 943 and, as a result, Constantinus' account must be viewed as a continuation in our narrative of Alan–Khazar relations. Masʿūdī gives us another important date. He reports that in 932 the Byzantine–Alan alliance had broken up (*see* above) though it appears to have been reestablished by Constantine Porphyrogenitus' time. This date may well correspond to the defeat of the Alans by Aaron and his Oğuz allies.

Regardless of the ups and downs of Khazar–Alan relations, Khazar influence upon the Alans must have been considerable. Ossetian epic songs attest to this.[304] In addition, Turkic runic inscriptions have recently been found in Alanic sites (*see* K. T. Laipanov, "O tiurkskom elemente v etnogeneze Osetin" in *Proisxoždeniie osetinskogo naroda*, ed. Iu. S. Gagloiti, p. 211 citing an article reported in the Qumuq newspaper *Leninni Bayrağı*

[302] Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *DAI* (Bonn ed.), p. 80; Moravcsik–Jenkins ed. pp. 62, 64.

[303] Schechter, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

[304] B. A. Kaloev, *Osetiny* (Moskva, 1967), p. 24.

April 20, 1963. Laipanov's article is otherwise undistinguished by any scientific content).

This tradition of close contacts with the Altaic steppe going deep into Alan history was continued during and after the Khazar period. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries when the Qıpčaqs held sway in the Eurasian steppes we may even speak of an Alanic–Turkic symbiosis. Thus, when elements of the Qıpčaqs fleeing the Mongol onslaught took refuge in Hungary, they brought with them a number of Alanic-speaking groups whose settlements in Hungary may be traced to this day.[305]

The Khazar Qağanate

Tha Arabo–Persian geographical literature comprises the overwhelming bulk of our source material for the internal workings of the Khazar Qağanate. What follows below is a brief review of these sources. They are by no means perfect, but afford enough details to give us some picture of the structure and economic life of the Qağanate. Again, we begin with Ibn Rusta: "The Khazar land is a huge country, on one side it is adjacent to great mountains [the Caucasus p.g.], those same mountains in whose most distant borderlands live the Tulās and Lūğar[306] and which stretches to the country of Tiflis. Their king is called *Īšā* (ایشا); their supreme lord is the Khazar Qağan, but the latter is lord in name only, the real power belongs to the *Īšā* as he, as concerns the affairs of government and the command of the army, occupies such a position that he does not have to account to any one who would be greater than himself. Their supreme chief professes the Jewish faith, as, (also) do the *Īšā*, the war lords and nobles who are with him, the rest of the Khazars profess a religion similar to that of the Turks. Their capital city is *Sār.ʿš.n* [سارعشن Gardīzī who copies Ibn Rusta's account gives what should be viewed as the more correct form سارغشن **Sārığšin*[307]] within it there is another city called **Hab n. l.ʿ* (*هب نلع)

[305] Gy. Németh, "Eine Wörterliste der Jassen, der ungarländischen Alanen" *ADAW*, No. 4, 1958.

[306] Minorsky would see here Tūlas = Tuwal-As, a branch of the Alans and Luğar should be viewed as a mis-spelling of اوغز Auğaz = Abxaz (Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, pp. 445, 456–67).

[307] Gardīzī (text and trans.) in *A magyar honfoglalás kútfői* (henceforth referred to as *MHK*), ed. Gy. Pauler, S. Szilágyi (Budapest, 1900), p. 153. The Oxford Ms. of Gardīzī (Ouseley 240, p. 474) has the form سرغشر. A twelfth century Arabic geographical work, the *Risāla fi-'l-Aqālīm* [Köprülü Kütüphanesi no. 1632 esp. ff. 2096–2106 cited in

or *Ḥ/X . . l .ʿ* (حسلع). In winter, the local populace lives in these two cities, with the coming of spring, however, they go out from them to the steppe where they remain until the coming of winter . . . Their king the *Išā* has placed a tax on the well-to-do and wealthy (Muslims) to put forth horsemen, in amounts comensurate with their wealth or the success of their industry. They annually make war against the Pečenegs. The *Išā* himself takes charge of the tribute received and he goes to war with his own troops. The royal army is composed of ten thousand horsemen, both those who serve permanently and those put forth by the wealthy as a form of obedience."[308]

From Ibn Rusta's account we see that (*i*) the Qağan by this time (presumably in the ninth century) had become a ceremonial figure, all real power was in the hands of the *Išā* (probably a corruption of **Išad*, in the later sources this figure is called Beg); (*ii*) the upper strata of the Khazars have converted to Judaism; (*iii*) nomadic traditions still prevail, the capital Sarığšin was probably the *qıšlaq* or winter pasturage; (*iv*) the *Išā* has his own troops (perhaps his own tribe or clan?); (*v*) there is a standing army and a kind of feudal army. Other sources provide further details on some of these features.

Ibn Fāḍlān, who received his information on Khazar institutions from the Volga Bulğars, sheds more light on the division of power in the Qağanate: "As concerns the king of the Khazars, who is called Xāqān, he does not show himself except (once) every four months, appearing at a great distance. They call him Great Xāqān and his deputy is called Xāqān Beh. It is the latter who leads his armies and governs them and takes charge of the affairs of the state and cares for the state and appears before the people and the neighboring kings show submission to him. And he [the Beh p.g.] goes in to the Great Xāqān every day, humbly, showing his lowliness and seriousness and he comes in to him only bare-foot and holding a piece of firewood in his hand and when he greets him he lights the firewood, when he finishes with the wood he sits down with the king. His place is taken by a man called K. nd. r Xāqān and his in turn by one called Jāwšiğr.

The custom of the king of the Khazars is that he has twenty-five wives. Each of them is the daughter of one of the kings who confront him, taken

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R. Şeşen, *Hilāfet ordusunun menkıbeleri ve Türklerin fazîletleri* (Manāqib Jund al-Xilāfa wa Faḍā'il al-Atrāk of Al-Jāḥiẓ) (Ankara, 1967), pp. 33–35] gives us additional material in regard to Sārığšin: "Their [the Khazars' p.g.] greatest city is called *Sāraǧš.n* and it is in the plain". This is the only notice we have which hints at the location of Sārığšin. Evidently it was located somewhere in the steppelands.

[308] Ibn Rusta, ed. de Goeje, pp. 139–140; Xvol'son, *Izvestiia Ibn Dasta*, pp. 15–18.

freely or by force . . . The length of their rule is forty years. If the king exceeds it by a single day, the subjects and his courtiers kill him, saying his reason has failed and his understanding is become disordered . . ."[309]

The ceremonial nature of the qağanal office is clearly seen here. Dezső Pais connects the firewood ritual with the cult of sun worship we have already noted amongst the Kök Türks and North Caucasian Huns.[310] We also notice that the title *Ïšā (*Šad)* has now become *Bäğ* (*Beh, see* also the *πέχ* of Constantinus Porphyrogenitus and the *bäg* ~ *bäk* of Iṣṭaxrī and Ibn Ḥawqal[311]). The reasons for this change are not clear; for the *Šad* in the Kök Türkic hierarchy was a much loftier dignity than that of *Bäg*. The killing of the king, mentioned by Ibn Faḍlān, is simply another aspect of the investiture ceremony we noted above (*see* p. 42 of this work). It may very well be that the Qağan's period of rule was fixed after which

[309] The translation here is basically Dunlop's *op. cit.*, pp. 112–114. For the text (complete with continuation of missing parts found in Yāqūt) *see*: Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, (Arabic text) pp. 43–44, (trans.) pp. 98–101. Kovalevskii gives a complete translation (Ibn Faḍlān, pp. 146–148) and a facsimile containing the section on the Khazars.

[310] D. Pais, "A gyula és a kündüh" *MNy.*, XXVII (1931), pp. 172–174. *See also* H. N. Orkun, *Eski Türk yazıtları* (İstanbul 1939–1941), III, pp. 71, 74.

Mas'ūdī, in his *'Aǰā'ib al-dunyā* (Bursa Hüseyin Çelebi Kütüphanesi Ms. No. 746, ff. 63b–64b cited in Şeşen, *Hülâfet Ordusunun Menkıbeleri*, pp. 32–33) writing about the Turks says the following: "They have no religion of their own. Some are Jews [a reference to the Khazars or their influence among the early Seljuqs? p. g.]. Most of their rulers reside in the land of the Bulğars. Their greatest rulers are called Xāqān. His crown, throne and belt are of gold. The Turks wear silken clothes. According to legend, their Xāqān does not show himself much to the people. When he does appear, no one can stand before him . . . The rulers have a certain day. On that day a great fire is made in the ruler's name. While the ruler looks on the fire from above, the priests say some things to the fire. Whereupon, a great face rises up from the fire. If this face is green, it is a sign of rain and abundance, if it is white, it is a sign of drought, if it is crimson, it is a sign of bloodshed, if it is yellow it is a sign of sickness and pestilence, if it is black it is a sign of the death of the ruler and a long journey. In the last instance, they immediately begin a campaign or war."

Fire in Turkic shamanism was viewed as the purifying element. In the custom described by Ibn Faḍlān, we undoubtedly have some purification rite that prefaced formal audiences with the Qağan. Similarly, foreign envoys etc. had to pass through fire before visiting Kök Türkic and later Mongol Xans. The christianized Volga Tatars *(Kriašon* < Russ. *krešč̈ennyi)* retained the *ut atlatu* ("jumping through fire"), a rite of purification practised around Easter time (*see* Inan, *op. cit.*, pp. 67–68; Rásonyi, *Tarihte Türklük*, p. 31; N. I. Vorob'ëv G. M. Xisamutdinov (eds), *Tatary Srednego Povolž'ia i Priural'ia* (Moskva, 1967), p. 357.

[311] Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *DAI* (Bonn ed.), p. 178; Moravcsik–Jenkins ed., p. 182; Iṣṭaxrī, ed. de Goeje, p. 220; Ibn Ḥawqal, ed. Kramers, II, p. 390.

time he was removed. Mas'ūdī has a notice which may help clarify this passage in Ibn Faḍlān. Basically, he follows our other sources in noting the ceremonial nature of the qağanate adding that: "The Xāqān is a personage who must remain in the hands of a prince who, in fact, exercises power and in whose palace he resides, confined to his inner apartments from which he cannot go forth. He cannot ride a horse nor show himself to his courtiers or people [Ibn Faḍlān contradicts this in part: 'When this great king rides out, all his army rides out with him. Between him and the troops of riders is a mile's distance. None of his subjects sees him without falling on his face, doing obeisance to him, nor does he raise his head till he has passed him'[312]]. He lives surrounded by his harem. He does not govern nor take any part in the affairs of state. In spite of this, the authority of the prince would be naught if he did not have the Xāqān with him in his capital and in his palace. When the Khazars suffer from famine or some other calamity strikes their land, or if the fortunes of war turn against them or some nation declares them an enemy, if then, any disaster befalls them, the people and the nobles rush to the king and say: 'this Xāqān whose reign presages nothing but disaster, augurs no good for us, put him to death or turn him over to us so that we may kill him.' Sometimes, the king abandons him to them and they kill him and sometimes he has him commit suicide and sometimes, taking pity on him he defends him, saying that he has not committed any crime which merits punishment . . ."[313]

The religious functions of the qağanal office are clearly seen here. The good or ill fortune of the state is believed to reside in his person. The qağan appears to somewhat resemble the *äb qağan (I Ke-han)* of the Kök Türks mentioned in the Chinese sources (*T'ung-tien* written by Tu Yu and completed in 801) who are described as non-ruling qağanal families who "remain at home"[314] (hence the term *äb* = "house"). The dual kingship as we have it described here differs somewhat from what we know about that institution amongst the Kök Türks. With the latter, its origin can be ascribed to a combination of military, political and religious factors. When the administrative units became too large, power had to be divided. Ultimate

[312] Dunlop, *op. cit.*, p. 112. Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, (Arabic text) p. 44, (trans.) p. 101. It is doubtful that Ibn Faḍlān has confused the *Bāk* with the "great King." The text [this part of it is preserved only in Yāqūt's *Mu'jam al-Buldān, see, Jacut's Geographisches Wörterbuch*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–1873), II. p. 439] has in all passages "al-malik al-kabīr." The discrepancy of our sources on this point has yet to be explained.

[313] Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, pp. 12–13.

[314] Liu Mau-tsai, *op. cit.*, I, p. 480, II, p. 499.

allegiance was still owed to the Qağan in Mongolia (this was shown in the fact that Ištämi bore the lesser title *Yabğu Qağan*) as in Mongol times it would be due the ruler of the ancestral territory in Qaraqorum. Amongst the Khazars, however, the Qağan appears solely as a religious figure, a kind of good luck piece for the well-being of the state. Artamonov argues that the Khazar dual kingship was not the result of retaining old traditions but came about through a change of ruling dynasties. In his view, the original Kök Türkic dynasty of the Khazars was transformed into a puppet by a local Khazar clan which was strongly judaised. This clan overcame opposition from within the Khazar tribes (the Qabars) and became the *de facto* rulers of Khazaria, the Qağan *Bägs*. Artamonov believes that Obadiah (mentioned in the Qağan Joseph's letter as the Qağan who "confirmed the faith" and strengthened Judaism in the Qağanate) was the leader of this usurpation. His clan forced the old Qağanal clan to accept Judaism.[315] There is, however, absolutely no textual justification for this view. It is reading far too much into Joseph's letter. Moreover, the Qağan as he appears is hardly a Judaic figure. Even if we accept the possibility of Artamonov's theory, there is nothing in the new "ideology" supposedly brought by Judaism to the Khazar ruling circles that could account for the nature of the Qağan's office as we have it described in the Arabic sources. The direction in which the qağanal office developed in Khazaria appears similar to that of the Qağan of the Toquz Oğuz (Uyğurs). We are told that "all the affairs of his kingdom are in the hands of his viziers and chamberlains". Like the Khazar Qağan, he is rarely seen by his people (in this case he appears once a year to the people).[316] We should conclude that the develop-

[315] Artamonov, *op. cit.*, pp. 261–266.

[316] Dunlop, *op. cit.*, p. 39; Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, pp. 263, 268. Togan argues that the Khazar royal line, which he believes was of Asena/Ašina origin was sacred. The authority of the Qağans stemmed from the sanctity of their persons and their judicial wisdom (thus the Uyğurs, Üzbeks, Qazaqs, Qırğız called Qağans of the Čingisid line "Törö" ("lawgiver"). *The Cambridge Document*, as Togan points out (*see* Kokovtsov, *op. cit.*, p. 115), says that Qağan means "judge" in Khazar (*see* Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, pp. 272, 274, 276, 282). Togan believes that the Khazars retained the dual kingship in its purest form. Moreover, he views the Khazar Qağanate as having existed amongst the Khazars before they became part of the Kök Türkic state. It was brought to them by a branch of the Asena/Ašina clan in some unspecified (by Togan) time (*see* Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, pp. 293–295). There is no convincing evidence to support this view. The authority of the Asena clan derived, no doubt, from their leading role in the struggle of the Türks for independence from the Žuan-žuan. Although the Asena/Ašina clan was an important body in Turkdom even before this event, its special and holy place within the Turkic world could only have been based on its role as the leading spirit in the birth of Turkic

ment of the qağanate in Khazaria was in keeping with Turkic traditions (the Qağan always had religious functions as well as political) and not the result of a "putsch". The form of this development, however, did not quite follow that of the "classic" Kök Türk dual kingship (although in the *äb qağan* of the latter Kök Türks we may see a precedent for this particular evolution of the office of the Qağan).

One of the most important notices on Khazar economic life is given by Iṣṭaxrī who wrote his account c. 932: "As to Khazaria, it is the name of the region, and its capital is called Atil . . . Atil is in two parts [Masʿūdī says: three parts[317]], one west of the river called Atil, which is the larger, and the other east of it. The king lives in the western part. The king in their language is called *Bāk* and also *Bäk* . . . Their houses are felt tents except a small number built of clay. They have markets and baths . . . The king's castle is at a distance from the riverbank and is of brick. No one else owns a brick building, the king not permitting anyone to build with brick. The wall [Iṣṭaxrī mentions that the city is surrounded by a wall p.g.] . . . has four gates, one of which opens on the river and another on the steppe at the back of the city. The other two also open on the steppe. . . .The king has no right to the property of the subjects. His treasury depends on custom-dues and tithes on merchandise, according to certain usages of theirs, from every land-route and sea and river. To him belong regular payments assessed on the people of the different places and districts, consisting of every description of food, drink etc. which he requires. The king has seven judges from the Jews, Christians, Muslims and idolaters [Masʿūdī has: 'two for the Muslims, two for the Khazars who give judgement according to the Torah, two for the Christians who give judgement according to the Gospels and one for the Slavs, Ruś and other pagans who judge according to pagan customs, that is natural laws'[318]] . . . The city has no villages. But their farms are extensive. They go out in summer for about twenty leagues through fields to sow. They collect some of the

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freedom. Al-Yaʿqūbī in a notice on the Khazars referring to a period not later than 531 (*see* p. 49 of this work) describes them as having a Qağan and the dual kingship. As has already been noted, this notice is certainly anachronistic. There can be no mention of a Qağan in the Turkic world until 552 when the Kök Türks overthrew the Žuan-žuan and in the process took over many of their titles (including Qağan). There are no sources to support the theory that a branch of the Asena/Ašina migrated westward prior to this event. Togan's view that the qağanal tradition existed amongst the Khazars before their incorporation into the Kök Türkic state must be rejected.

[317] Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, II, p. 7.

[318] Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, II, p. 11.

crop on the river and some in the steppe, and bring in their produce either on carts or by the river. Their chief food is rice and fish. The honey and wax brought from their country are brought to them from the territory of the Ruś and Bulğar. Similarly, the beaver-skins which they take to all parts of the world are found only in those rivers in the territory of Bulğar and the Ruś and Kiev (Kuyaba), and not anywhere else so far as I know . . . The eastern half of the (capital of the) Khazars contains most of the merchants, the Muslims, and the merchandise. The western is reserved for the king and his attendants, his army and the pure-bred Khazars . . . The Khazars have a city called Samandar between (the capital) and Bāb al-Abwāb. It has many gardens. It is said that it contains about 4,000 vineyards . . . The principal fruit is the grape. Here are people of the Muslims, and they have mosques . . . their king is a Jew, related to the king of the Khazars [this is standard Kök Türkic practice where subject territories were ruled by princes of the blood p.g.] . . . The Khazars do not resemble the Turks. They are black-haired and are of two kinds, one called Qara Khazars [Black Khazars], who are swarthy verging to deep black, as if they were a kind of Indians, and a white kind, who are strikingly handsome . . . The Khazar country produces nothing which can be exported except isinglass . . . The Qağanate is never given to any but a Jew."[319]

The Soviet archaeologist, S. A. Pletneva, who has devoted herself to the study of the medieval nomadic Turkic peoples of the South Russian steppes, has noted that the winter and summer pasturages *(qıšlaq* and *yaylaq)* of these nomands are usually on the shores of rivers or large bodies of fresh water. Here, she points out, there is always lush grass for their herds. In addition, as nomads do not dig wells, there is always abundant fresh water. The river also provides one of the staple foods of the nomad's diet: fish. Fishing was an important part of the nomadic economy.[320] Iṣṭaxrī confirms

[319] *See* Iṣṭaxrī, ed. de Goeje, pp. 220–226. The translation is Dunlop's (Dunlop, *op. cit.*, pp. 91–98).

[320] S. A. Pletneva, *op. cit.*, p. 13. *See also* Ögel, *op. cit.*, p. 248. Ögel writing of the Volga Bulgars, notes "In Bulğar times, the considerable presence of fish-lines shows that fishing was much practised". Sarkel, he mentions elsewhere (p. 226), was a fishing center.

More recently Gy. Györffy in a very important article, ["Système des résidences d'hiver et d'été chez les nomades et les chefs hongrois au X[e] siècle" *AEMAe* I (1975)] has shown that nomadism in the river-rich steppelands of Eastern Europe differed from that of Central Asia. He notes of the "semi-nomadic" Hungarians that they lived alongside the rivers where they had their winter quarters. Winters they spent fishing. In spring they went to nearby land where they planted their grain and then they drove their cattle into the steppes for pasturing. They returned there for harvest

this with respect to the Khazars. As can be seen from his account, fish was one of the staples of the Khazar diet and isinglass the sole product they themselves produced.

Among the other important elements in this account is the mention of agriculture. Ibn Rusta (*see* above) says that the Khazars, "with the coming of spring go out to the steppe where they remain until the coming of winter".[321] This would seem to point to the nomadic cycle as practised in Eastern Europe. Iṣṭaxrī says that they (presumably the inhabitants of Atil) sow their fields in summer. Agriculture was not unknown to the Turkic peoples. As we have already noted, the Bulğars practised it and we know from the Chinese sources that the Kök Türks also were not ignorant of it.[322] The ancient Qırğız, whose culture was related to that of the Kök Türks also appear to have practised agriculture.[323] Radloff, in his notes on his journeys through the Turkic steppes *(see Aus Sibirien)*, frequently speaks of it. Muxtar Auezov, in his biography of the Qazaq poet Abay (the book, set in novel form, is really an encyclopaedia of Qazaq life in the nineteenth century) notes that the poorer Qazaqs (the Qazaqs were known as a nomadic people par excellence) were agriculturalists.[324] The letter of the Qağan Joseph contains an interesting passage: "From the month of Nisan [April p.g.] we go out from the city [which, as in Masʿūdī, he describes as being in three parts p.g.] and each go to our vineyard and our field for work. Each of our clans has, besides this, a hereditary possession (received) from their fore-fathers . . . But I and my princes and slaves go and cross twenty farsaxs distance until we come to a great river called the *V. d.šan* [*V.ršan* in Short Version, p. 86] and from there we go around (our country) until

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time. They had no fixed summer quarters and the distances travelled were not great. The upper class, however, travelled great distances parallel to the rivers between their winter and summer quarters. Thus, it was only the upper class, the ruler and his retinue that nomadized over great distances. This system as Györffy points out, was true for the Hungarians, Khazars and Mongols (*see* Györffy: *AEMAe* I, p. 45 ff.; *Archeológiai Értesítő*, 97 (1970), p. 192 ff).

[321] Al-Maqdisī *(Kitāb al-Bad' wa-t-tawārīx*, ed. C. Huart, IV, p. 66) reports: "They [the Khazars p. g.] winter in the cities and summer in tents." Ibn Faḍlān reports a similar type of nomadizing with regard to the Bulğars [*see* Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, (Arabic text) p. 33, (trans.) p. 74]. *See also* Ašmarin, *Bolgary i čuvaši*, p. 18.

[322] Liu Mau-tsai, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 456–467.

[323] Ögel, *op. cit.*, pp. 215–256.

[324] *See* W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien* (Leipzig, second ed., 1893) and M. Auezov, *Put' Abaia*, trans. L. Sobolev (Alma-Ata, 1960).

we come to the end of our city . . . in the end of the month of Kislev [December — approximately p.g.], in the days of (the holiday) Ḥanukkah."[325]

Clearly then, agriculture was practised by the Khazars (or, at least, the nobility possessed lands on which agriculture was practised and the usufruct of which they enjoyed). The Qağan, however, follows the traditional Turkic nomadic cycle. He and his retainers leave the city (which served as the winter pasturage) in April (Radloff notes of the Qazaqs: "The Qazaqs remain, in general, in the *qišlaq* until the middle of April and then they begin to nomadize." They return to their winter quarters in mid-November) and complete the cycle by December. The division of lands among the various clans is also an important point. Separate land-holding on the part of individual clans is not a novelty in the Turkic world. On the contrary, it is part and parcel of the nomadic system (Radloff notes that at times it could get extremely complex).[326]

[325] Kokovtsov, *op. cit.*, pp. 102–103. This is a clear statement of the system discussed by Györffy in his paper in *AEMAe*, I (1975).

[326] Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, I, 417–418. Joseph notes later on that he has his own fields and vineyards on the island in which he lives. (Kokovtsov, *op. cit.*, p. 103). These were presumably fields worked by slaves to provide for the household of the Qağan.

The *T'ang-shu* (*see* Bičurin, *Sobranie svedenii*, I, p. 230; Liu Mau-tsai, *op. cit.*, I, p. 10 = *Chou-shu*) notes that although the Türks have no permanent abode, each has his own plot of land. Moreover, the Qağan always lives on the Tu-Kin mountain. This is, of course, the *Ötükän*, the holy mountain of the Kök Türks. The *T'ang-shu* further notes that the Qağan and his nobles make yearly sacrifices in a cave of their ancestors (this is perhaps to be associated with the legends surrounding the origin of the Ašina, the eponymous ancestor of whom was, according to legend, born in a cave, mothered by a she-wolf (*see* Bičurin, *Sobranie svedenii*, I, p. 221). It is also interesting to note that in the story of the conversion of the Khazars as given in the Cambridge Document, a cave in the valley of תיזול figures prominently as the place where the sacred (in this case Jewish) books were kept [*see* Schechter, *op. cit.*, (Hebrew text) p. 206 (trans.) p. 215]. This theme of the holy mountain and sacred cave is clearly seen in Jehudah Hal-Levi's philosophico-religious work the *Kitāb al-Xazar* or *Sefer ha-Kūzarī* [*see* Jehudah Hal-Levi, *Book of Kuzari*, trans. H. Hirschfeld (New York, 1946)] which although an apologetical and highly polemical work of the 12th century, was apparently based on the Khazar tradition in Spain as well as some Khazar books brought there by refugees from Khazaria. In his account of the famous religious debate held at the Khazar court he writes: "After this the Khazari, as is related in the history of the Khazars, was anxious to reveal to his vezier in the mountains of Warsān the secret of his dream and its repetition, in which he was urged to seek the God-pleasing deed. The King and his Veziers travelled to the deserted mountains on the sea shore, and arrived one night at the cave in which some Jews used to celebrate the Sabbath. They disclosed their identity to them, embraced their religion,

It seems safe to conclude that nomadism[327] and agriculture (and viniculture) existed side by side in the Khazar state and that the nobility held hereditary lands (probably both agricultural lands [held as fiefs?] and pasturages which were the property of individual clans). Khazar urban life was also well-developed. The *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* mentions ten cities in the country of the Khazars *(Atıl, Samandar, Xamlīx, Balanǰar, Bayḍa, Savğar, X.tl.ğ, .l.kn, S.w.r* [probably *Suwar], *M.s.t-* "all with strong walls").[328] The primary sources of wealth for the Khazar Qağan, as the sources unanimously affirm, were commercial revenues. Astride the great Volga route, the qağans of Atil/İtil were able to dominate the transit trade and considerably enrich themselves thereby. The city must have presented a strange sight combining as it did nomadic, agricultural and commercial elements, Khazars, Bulğars and other Turks mixing with merchants from the lands of Islam, Jewish refugees from Byzantium and elsewhere, Slavs, Scandinavians, Finns and Hungarians — cosmopolitan and yet the bulk of its inhabitants dwelt in the felt tents of the nomads. It is probably because of this latter fact that no trace of the city has yet been found.[329]

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were circumcised in the cave and then returned to their country eager to learn the Jewish law" (*see* Hal-Levi, *Book of Kuzari*, trans. H. Hirschfeld, p. 72). It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that this aspect of the nomadic cycle of the Khazar Qağans was somehow connected to some religious rituals as well. We have no information as to the "purity" of Khazar Judaism. Undoubtedly many pagan elements remained in thinly disguised Jewish form.

With regard to land holding, Ṭabarī [Ṭabarī, *Annales quos scripsit ibn Djafar Mohammed ibn Djarīr at-Ṭabarī (Kitāb Axbār ar-Rasūl wa'l Mulūk)* ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1879–1901), III, p. 1594] mentions that the Turkic Qağans have hereditary meadowlands and mountains which were *taboo* to others. This is probably the *qorığ* noted by Kāšğarī *(Dīvān* ed. Atalay, p. 189 : "Qorığ the private preserve of the rulers and others. Any place that is guarded is a *qorığ")*.

[327] The *Ḥudūd*, p. 161, notes that the Khazars exported cows and sheep thereby indicating that cattle-breeding was still practised.

[328] Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, pp. 161–162.

[329] The Soviet scholar, L. Gumilëv in his popular little book, *Otkrytie Xazarii* (Moskva, 1966), advances the view that the site where Itil stood has been submerged under the waters of the Volga. Whatever may have survived the Ruś attack was long ago washed into the Caspian. This is an interesting theory but needs further substantiation.

The Volga, traversing the great Eurasian steppes across which the East–West caravan traders plied their way and emptying into the Caspian from which one could, again by caravan, journey to Byzantium (and thence to the West) or the lands of Islam, was a natural conduit for trade. From all four points of the compass, the Volga with its numerous branches (the Russian chronicles speak of its seventy off-shoots[330]) united a vast commercial network at one corner of which lay the developed Mediterranean world (Semito-European, Islamic and Christian) and at the other extreme of which stood the equally advanced Iranian (and increasingly Turkic) urban world of Central Asia. In the west, the Volga, via its portages with the Don–Donets complex and overland routes to Kiev, was linked to Western Europe (by an overland route through the Slavic countries to the German states) and Byzantium (via the Dnepr–Black Sea route, the famous *Put' iz variag v greki*).[331] In the north, it brought the amber-rich Baltic (via the Dvina) and the Beloozero region (via the Šeksna) into its commercial system. In this way amber made its way to the Mediterranean Islamic world where it was highly valued. In the south, ships regularly sailed down the Volga into the Caspian and then, hugging the coasts, they made their way to Persia and thence to Bağdad (this is the route of the Rūs merchants as described by Ibn Xurdādhbih[332]). In the east, through overland routes and via the Kama, the Volga was connected with the Urals, Siberia and Xwārizm. The latter was an extremely important commercial link-up in this vast chain. From Xwārizm the raw materials gathered from the Slavic and Finno-Ugrian peoples were exported to Xorāsān and thence by ancient caravan routes to Bağdad. The manufactures of the Islamic world, in turn, were sent to Xwārizm and from there to the Caspian where they were placed

[330] *PSRL*, I, p. 7; *PSRL*, II, p. 6.

[331] G. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia* (New Haven, 1948), p. 338; P. G. Liubomirov, "Torgovye sviazi Rusi s Vostokom v VIII–IX vekax" *Zapiski Saratovskogo Universiteta*, I, 3 (1923), pp. 17–18; *PSRL*, IX, p. 3. Boba (*op. cit.*, pp. 18–35) argues that the Dnepr was not used for commercial purposes until the latter half of the ninth century.

[332] Gurgān on the south-eastern coast of the Caspian was an important port-city for this trade. *See* Ibn Xurdādhbih, ed. de Goeje, p. 155; Ibn Ḥawqal, ed. de Goeje, p. 286 (Kramers ed. II/2, p. 398). E. Sixarulidze, on the basis of the information provided by our Arab sources, has underscored the growth of the trading towns of Eastern Transcaucasia in the 9th and 10th centuries and their increasing role in international commerce. Bāb al-Abwāb was the principal conduit to Bardha'a from whence trade then flowed to Arab and Byzantine lands. *See* E. Sixarulidze, "Amierkavkasiis samaršruto gzebi IX–X ss. arabuli dsqaroebis mixedvit'" in *Maxlobeli aǧmosavlet'is istoriis sakit'xebi*, ed. V. Gabašvili et al. (Tbilisi, 1963), pp. 175–188.

on ships and brought up the Volga for distribution in Khazaria, Volga Bulğaria and the emerging Eastern Slavic lands. A land route from Gurganj to Atıl/İtil and Volga Bulğaria via the Oğuz steppes was also used.[333] Al-Muqaddasī, writing in the tenth century, gives us an idea of the variety of goods flowing to the Muslim world from Eastern Europe via Xwārizm: "From Xwārizm (there are imported) sable skins *(sammūr)*, squirrel skins, ermine *(qaqūn)*, weasel, marten *(dalah)*, fox, beaver[334] *(xazbūst* — Pers. *xazpost* = a fur bearing animal. Lewicki translates it as 'castor'), hares of varied colors (Pers. *xargoš mulawwan*), goat skins *(buz post)*, wax, arrows, *tūz* [Lewicki suggests 'bois du peuplier?' Perhaps, we might add Pers. *tūs* 'birch' p.g.], hats, isinglass *(ğarā al-samak)*, fish-teeth, castor, yellow amber, *kīmuxt* [Lewicki: 'chagrin'?], honey, hazel-nuts, falcons, swords, cuirasses, *xalanj* [a wood used for ship-building p.g.], Ṣaqlab slave girls, sheep and cattle."[335]

In Ibn Xurdādhbih's account of the Rādhānīyah (a Jewish merchant company; there is, as yet, no satisfactory explanation of their name[336]) we can glimpse the magnitude of the commercial network of which the Volga was an integral part: "*The Route of the Jewish Merchants (called) Rādhānīyah.* They speak Arabic, Persian, Rumī [probably Byzantine Greek, p.g.] Ifranjī [Frankish p.g.], Andalūsī [one of the Romance dialects of Spain p.g.] and Ṣaqlabī [Slavic? p.g.]. They travel from the East to the West and from the West to the East by land and sea. They bring from the West eunuchs, female slaves, young boys, brocade, beaver skins and other furs [Ibn Xurdādhbīh is undoubtedly speaking of goods brought from the Slavic countries and Western Europe, p.g.], sables and swords [the latter probably come from the West, p.g.]. They embark at the territory of Firanja

[333] C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids* (Edinburgh, 1963), pp. 149, 207, 214–215; W. Szymański, *Kontakty handlowe Wielkopolski w IX–XI wieku* (Poznań, 1958), p. 34; W. Hensel, *Słowiańszczyzna wczesnośredniowieczna* (Warszawa, 1956), pp. 436, 440, 444; S. P. Tolstov et al. *Istoriia Uzbekskoi SSR* (Taškent, 1955), I/1, p. 200. This trade apparently penetrated very deep into the Turkic steppe. Thus, Byzantine coins from the reign of Romanus I Lecapenus (919–944) and Constantinus VII Porphyrogenitus (913–959) have been found in the Altay region. *See* Ögel, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

[334] Beavers provided castor, a substance much used in Arab medicine. *See* T. Lewicki, "Studia nad źródłami arabskimi" *Slavia Antiqua*, XII (1965), p. 29.

[335] Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan at-Taqāsīm*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 324–325; T. Lewicki, "Ecrivains arabes du IX[e] au XVI[e] siècle traitant de l'ambre jaune de la Baltique et de son importation en pays arabes" *Folia Orientalia*, IV (1962–1963), p. 8; Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie*, I, pp. 266–267. The bulk of the words for the fur-bearing animals used in al-Muqaddasī's notice, are Persian.

[336] For a recent attempt *see:* F. Kmietowicz, "The term ar-*Rāḏānīya* in the work of Ibn Ḫurdāḏbeh" *Folia Orientalia*, XI (1969).

[the Frankish lands, p.g.] on the 'Western Sea' [= Mediterranean p.g.] and land at al-Faramā [classical Pelusium in North-eastern Egypt on the Mediterranean[337] p.g.]. They place their goods, here, on the backs of beasts of burden and go to al-Qulzum [classical Clysma, on the North-western shore of the Red Sea, near modern Suez[338] p.g.] . . . They then embark on the Eastern Sea [the Red Sea p.g.] and go from al-Qulzum to al-Jār and Judda. Then they go to Sind [the north-western coast of India, the lower valley and delta of the Indus river[339] p.g.], Hind [India p.g.] and Ṣīn [China p.g.]. From Ṣīn they bring back musk and aloe wood, camphor, cinnamon and other goods which are imported from those parts, then they return to al-Qulzum and take these goods to al-Faramā and embark on ships on the Western Sea. Sometimes they make a detour [on the return route p.g.] with their goods to al-Qusṭanṭīnīyah [Constantinople p.g.] and sell them to the Rūmī [Byzantines, p.g.] and sometimes they go with them to the king of Firanja [Franks p.g.] and sell them there . . . Sometimes they choose (the route) beyond Rūmīyah through the land of the Ṣaqāliba and then to Xamlīx, the city of the Khazars. Then they go through the Sea of Jurjān [the Caspian p.g.] and then towards Balx and Māwarā'an-Nahr and then to the Ūrt (Wurut) Toğuzğuz and then on to Ṣīn . . ."[340]

We know from Ibn Xurdādhbih and Ibn al-Faqīh that the Ruś and Ṣaqlab merchants also used the Volga route to reach the rich markets of the Islamic world.[341] Qabala (according to Minorsky: "Ptolemey, *Καβάλα* in Armenian K'avałak'. Its ruins are situated to the south-west of Shamākhī at the confluence of the two branches of the Tūriyān river . . ."[342]), a town with a Khazar population or under Khazar rule, appears to have played the same role in the Caucasus–Caspian–Persia region that Xwārizm played in Central Asia.[343]

The Khazars themselves produced nothing save isinglass (*see* Iṣṭaxrī, several types of furs were named after them in the Arabic-speaking coun-

[337] Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 161, map p. 162.

[338] A. A. Vasiliev, *The History of the Byzantine Empire* (Madison, 1961), I, p. 167.

[339] Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 210, map p. 211.

[340] Ibn Xurdādhbih, ed. de Goeje, pp. 153–155; Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie* I, pp. 74–77.

[341] Ibn Xurdādhbih, ed. de Goeje, p. 154; Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 270–271. For a comparsion and discussion of the texts involved, *see* Novosel'tsev, "Vostočnye istočniki o vostočnyx slavianax i Rusi VI–IX vv." in *Drevnerusskoe gosudarstvo i ego meždunarodnoe značenie*, pp. 372–387.

[342] Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, p. 402.

[343] Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, p. 194; Hitti, *Origins*, p. 306; Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie*, I, p. 183.

tries, *cf.* "xazarī"[344] but that is probably because they came from lands under Khazar political control). They controlled, however, the all important water and overland routes and in effect were in a position to extort all manner of tolls and tithes for their use. We know from the Arab sources that both the Khazar Qağan and the ruler of the Volga Bulğars took one tenth of the value of the goods that passed through their lands.[345] Similar conditions prevailed in Western Europe at this time and for several centuries after. Pirenne in writing of the tolls of the fifteenth century in Western Europe notes: ". . .there were still sixty-four of them [tolls p.g.] on the Rhine, thirty-five on the Elbe and seventy-seven on the Danube in its course through Lower Austria alone."[346]

An interest in commercial affairs is nothing new to the nomadic peoples. The Kök Türks were great supporters of the aggressive mercantile aspirations of the Soğdians. The Volga Bulğars played a role identical with that of the Khazars during this period and up to the time of their conquest by the Mongols. The latter, some three centuries later, now at the head of a Mongolo-Qıpčaq state which once again brought under one rule the lands along the Volga and beyond, pursued trade policies similar to those of the Khazars.[347] One must remember that centralizing states such as the Khazars and Golden Horde were able, in return for the customs dues, to provide a certain degree of security for the merchant.[348] Had this not been the case and had profits been negligible, the tremendous volume of trade we see reported in the sources and confirmed by numismatic evidence would have never come about.

Artamonov attempts to connect the "commercialization" of the Khazar state with their conversion to Judaism. Somehow, in his view, Judaism transformed the Khazars from a pastoral and agricultural people into parasitical middlemen torn from the peoples of their state and kept in power only by the lances of Muslim mercenaries. "All the wealth", he writes, "gathered by the Judaic merchants in Itil could not buy the hearts of the Slavs inhabiting the forest steppe, the Pečenegs, steppe people of the Black Sea region, the Guz nomads of the transuralic plains and the Alans ...

[344] Lewicki, "Studia nad źródłami arabskimi" *Slavia Antiqua*, XII (1965), p. 29.

[345] Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 270–271, Ibn Xurdādhbih, ed. de Goeje, p. 154; Novosel'tsev, "Vostočnye istočniki . . ." *Drevnerusskoe gosudarstvo*, pp. 384–385; Xvol'son, *Izvestiia Ibn Dasta*, p. 25.

[346] H. Pirenne, *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe*, trans. I. E. Clegg (New York), p. 87.

[347] *Cf.* opening chapters of Grekov, Iakubovskii, *Zolotaia orda i eë padenie.*

[348] *See* Mas'ūdī's comments, *Murūj*, II, p. 12.

and Bulgars . . ."[349] As a matter of fact, this is an arbitrary assumption not corroborated by historical facts.

The Khazar state, by reason of its advantageous geographical position astride great trade routes, became a commercial state. Its economic underpinnings rested on the revenues derived from this trade. In return, it granted the merchant, both domestic and foreign, security (as best it could) and the use of essential routes which were in its possession. Its ability to control this territory (from which its revenues sprang) rested on the military ability of the qağans, šads and the Khazar tribes. In time this ability weakened, probably as a result of internal contradictions within the state. We must remember that the tribes and clans in a nomadic state are always a centrifugal force. As Barthold pointed out, there is a continuing struggle between the Qağan and his clan, on the one hand, and the subject clans which did not willingly submit to the authority of the Qağan, on the other.[350] In Khazaria, apparently, as this struggle continued, the Qağan lost his hold over various groups within the tribal confederation (this can be seen in the breakaway of the Qabars). Weakened by this, and perhaps other defections, the Qağans of Atil were forced to hire mercenaries to keep up the military power upon which their economic power rested. By the tenth century this was a rather shaky edifice as the Ruś Caspian expeditions were to prove. The collapse of the Qağanate in the second half of the tenth century was inevitable and indeed anti-climatic. Khazaria fell not because of the judaicization of the Khazars (the extent of which is by no means clear) but because of the inherent weakness of the structure of the nomadic state with its centrifugal forces and the nature of the economy which evolved on the shores of the Volga. The economy, as Dunlop correctly noted, was "highly artificial". It could summon to its defense very few natural resources.[351] Depending, as it did, on commercial revenues which supported an army which in turn gave the qağans the ability to exact the commercial revenues, it existed in a continual state of tension. A weakening of the one would bring about the collapse of the other. Neither could stand without the other. To ascribe either of these to the effect of religion is to completely misunderstand the nature of nomadic states. This, then, is the picture we have of Khazaria in the Arabo–Persian geographical literature. We must now turn to the sparse monuments of the Khazar language which have come down to us to round out our picture of the Khazars.

[349] Artamonov, *op. cit.*, pp. 457–58.
[350] Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen*, pp. 10–11.
[351] Dunlop, *op. cit.*, pp. 232–234.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE KHAZAR WORD LIST

Before examining the remnants of the Khazar language as we find them in the sources, it would be useful to first give a general survey of these sources. Listed below are the authors (arranged by languages) together with the printed editions and manuscripts which I have consulted in compiling this list. Basically, I have attempted to examine all the manuscripts used in the critical editions of these sources. This has not always been possible. Some of the manuscripts did not contain the passages on the Khazars found in the printed editions (i.e. not all the manuscripts used by the editor had these particular passages). In some cases, only one of the manuscripts preserved the passage in part or in full. I have limited myself, in this listing, only to those manuscripts which provided material for the word list. The listing here does not pretend to be a full treatment of all the available manuscripts of a given author. Other manuscripts, for one reason or another, were not available. Numbers also forced me to be selective. By and large, as the Islamic geographical literature of the Middle Ages is quite extensive, I have chosen only those authors who were contemporaries of the Khazar Qağanate and wrote from first-hand knowledge or had access to recent travelers' accounts (which as centuries passed could become quite distorted) or from works (such as that of Yāqūt) which contained valuable fragments of lost works (the better part of Ibn Faḍlān's notice on the Khazars is known to us only through Yāqūt). Thus, the manuscripts of post-Khazar authors such as Ibn al-Athīr and Dimašqī were not consulted. In addition, the manuscripts of works which contained only a few, well-known words (such as *Balanǰar*, *Samandar*, *Qağan* etc.) were also left untouched (such an example are the Russian chronicles). I have concentrated on those words the readings for which are either unclear or open to a variety of interpretations in an attempt to determine their exact and original form. In these instances, I have examined wherever possible (new manuscripts are still forthcoming, Turkey, the Soviet Union and India are particularly rich in this regard) all the available manuscripts. One exception in this regard is the *K'art'lis C'xovreba*, for which I have used the recent (1955–59) critical edition by S. Qauxč'išvili which has excellent notes on variant readings. Where possible, I have contacted scholars who were either working on or had worked

with one or another of the authors under consideration and have been guided by their advice regarding the selection of manuscripts (where a large number existed) for this study.

Finally, it should be borne in mind that this is not a critical study of the manuscripts in question. Our only interest, the focal point of this chapter, are the forms of the Khazar words as given in the manuscripts.

Of general use and for details on the following, *see* C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* (Leiden revised ed. 1943–1949). For a bibliography of the catalogues etc. of Arabic manuscripts, *see*: A. J. W. Huisman, *Les manuscrits arabes dans le monde* (Leiden, 1967). For the Byzantine literature, the first volume of Moravcsik's *Byzantinoturcica* is indispensable.

Sources

ARABIC

1. Abū'l-ʿAbbās (Abū Bakr, Abū'l-Ḥasan, Abū Jaʿfar) Aḥmad Abū ibn Yaḥya ibn Jābir *al-Balādhurī* (died: 892)
   Work: *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1895)
   MSS: (London) British Museum 23, 264. Date: 1447
   (Leiden) Rijksuniversiteit Bibliotheek OR 430. Undated.

2. Muḥammad (Abū-Muḥammad Aḥmad) ibn ʿAlī *ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī* (died: c. 926)
   Work: *Kitāb al-Futūḥ*. A critical edition is currently being prepared in India: *Kitābu'l Futūḥ*, ed. M. ʿAbdu'l Muʿīd Khān and Mahāmid ʿAli al-ʿAbbāsī (Hyderabad, 1968–1971) vols I–IV. The volumes that have appeared so far do not contain the notices on the Khazars that will be of concern to us.
   MS: (Istanbul) Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, III Ahmet Kütüphanesi 2956 (2 vols). Date: 1468
   Extremely important for Arab–Khazar wars of the first third of the eighth century.

3. ʿIzz ad-Dīn *ibn al-Athīr* (flourished: 1160–1234)
   Work: *Al-Kāmil fi't-Ta'rīx (Chronicon quod perfectissimum inscribitur)*, ed. C. J. Tornberg (Leiden, 1851–1876)

4. Aḥmad *ibn Faḍlān* (flourished: early tenth century)
   Work: *Risāla*

(*i*) Z. V. Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht* in *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XXIV/3 (Leipzig, 1939). Contains text based on the unique Mašhad MS. and German translation with extensive commentary.

(*ii*) A. P. Kovalevskii, *Kniga Axmeda ibn Fadlana o ego putešestvii na Volgu v 921–922 gg.* (Xarkov, 1956). Facsimile edition of Mašhad MS. and Russian translation and commentary. Kovalevskii published an earlier translation *Putešestvie Ibn Fadlana na Volgu* (Moskva–Leningrad, 1939). The latter part of the *Risāla* containing the important passages on Khazar institutions is found only in Yāqūt's *Mu'jam al-Buldān*.

5. *Ibn al-Faqīh* al-Hamadhānī (flourished: early tenth century)
   Work: *Kitāb al-Buldān (Compendium libri/Kitāb al-Boldān)*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1885)

6. Abū'l Qāsim *ibn Ḥawqal* an-Naṣībī (wrote: c. 977)
   Work: *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik*
   (*i*) *Viae et Regna*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1873).
   (*ii*) *Opus geographicum auctore Ibn Ḥauḳal secundum textum et imagines codicis constantinopolitani conservati in Bibliotheca Antiqui Palatii No. 3346 cui titulus est "Liber imaginis terrae" (Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Arḍ)*, ed. J. H. Kramers (Leiden—Leipzig, 1938) (2 vols)
   MSS: (Leiden) Rijksuniversiteit Bibliotheek OR 314. Undated
   Ibidem OR 8524a–b (= Istanbul, Topkapı III Ahmet Kütüphanesi 3346)
   Ibidem OR 8525 (= Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 2214, date: 16th cent.)
   (Istanbul) Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, III Ahmet Kütüphanes-3346. Date: 1086
   (Oxford) Bodleian, Huntington 538 does not contain the passage on the Khazars.

7. Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn Muslim *ibn Qutayba* (flourished: tenth century)
   Work: *Kitāb al-Ma'ārīf (Ibn Coteibas Handbuch der Geschichte)*, ed. F. von Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1859). *See also* T. Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie*, I, pp. 202–203 for excerpts

8. Abū ʿAlī A. b. ʿUmar *ibn Rusta* (wrote: 903)
Work: *Kitāb al-Aʿlāq an-Nafīsa* ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1892). *See also* excerpts with Russian translation in D. Xvol'son, *Izvestiia . . . Ibn Dasta*
MS: (London) British Museum 23,378. Date: Xvol'son: 17th–18th century. Rieu: 14th century

9. Abū'l Qāsim ʿUbaydallāh ibn ʿAbdallāh *ibn Xurdādhbih* (wrote: c. 846–47, re-edited his work in 885–886)
Work: *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik (Liber viarum et regnorum)*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1889)
MSS: (Oxford) Bodleian, Huntington 433. Date: 1232–1233
(Paris) Bibliothèque Nationale 2213. Date: 19th century
(Vienna) Nationalbibliothek 783. Date: before twelfth century
The Oxford manuscript of Ibn Ḥawqal (Bodleian, Huntington 538) has an excerpt from Ibn Xurdādhbih's work.

10. Abū Isḥāq al-Fārisī *al-Iṣṭaxrī* (wrote: mid-tenth century)
Work: *Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik (Viae Regnorum)*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1870)
MSS: (Leiden) Rijksuniversiteit Bibliotheek OR 3101. Date: 1193
(Berlin) Staatsbibliothek der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz 6032 (given in Ahlwardt's Catalogue as al-Balxī upon whom al-Iṣṭaxrī based much of his work). Date: 1840
(Istanbul) Aya Sofya 2971. Date: unknown
This work is essentially al-Balxī—Iṣṭaxrī (*see* Brockelmann *GAL*, Suppl. I, p. 408)

11. Abū'l Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn *al-Masʿūdī* (died: c. 956–957)
Work: I. *Murūj adh-Dhahab wa Maʿādin al-Jawhar (Les prairies d'or)*, ed. trans. C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille (Paris, 1861–77), 9 vols
MS: (Paris) Bibliothèque Nationale 1476. Date: 18th century
II. *Kitāb at-Tanbīh wa'l Išrāf*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1894)

12. Aḥmed bin Lūṭfullāh *Münejjimbaši* (Müneccimbaşı) (died: 1702)
Work: *Jāmiʿ ad-Duwal* (also known as *Ṣaḥā'if al-Axbār*). *See* Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān and Darband*. In this work, Minorsky selected from the larger work of Münneccimbaşı those passages which the latter had taken from the now lost work *Ta'rīx Bāb*

al-Abwāb. The copy of this work which Müneccimbaşı used was compiled in Darband c. 1106.

MSS: (Istanbul) Nur-i Osmaniye 3171–72 (this is believed to be the author's autograph *see* A. Dietrich, *Orientalia*, 27 (1958), pp. 262–8). Date: end of the 17th century (?)
(Istanbul) Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, III Ahmet Kütüphanesi 2954 (2 vols). Date: Vol. I: 1704, Vol. II: 1705
(Istanbul) Bayezıt Umumī Kütüphanesi, Veliyüddin 5019–5020. Date: 1761–1762
(Istanbul) Süleymaniye, Es'ad Efendi 2101–2103. Date: probably 18th century
There is another manuscript in Kayseri which I have not consulted. The Turkish translation (by Ahmet Nedīm) by which this work is best known appeared in 1868.

13. Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. A. *al-Muqaddasī* (wrote: 985)

Work: *Aḥsan at-Taqāsīm fī Ma'rīfat al-Aqālīm (Descriptio imperii moslemici auctore Schamso'd-dīn abū Abdollāh Mohammed ibn Ahmed ibn abi Bekr al-Bannā al-Basschārī al-Mokaddesī)*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1877, second edition, 1906)

MS: (Berlin) Staatsbibliothek der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz 6033. Date: 1854

14. Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr *aṭ-Ṭabarī* (flourished: 838–923)

Work: *Kitāb Axbār ar-Rasūl wa'l-Mulūk (Annales quos scripsit Abu Djafar Mohammed ibn Djarīr aṭ-Ṭabarī)*, ed. M. J. de Goeje et al. (Leiden, 1879–1901)*

MS: Of the numerous manuscripts of aṭ-Ṭabarī, the one which is most relevant to our study is: (Berlin) Staatsbibliothek der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz 9421. Date: 1300

15. Abū ibn Abī Ya'qūb ibn Ja'far ibn Wahb ibn Wāḍiḥ al-'Abbāsī, known as *al-Ya'qūbī* (flourished: ninth century)

Work: *Ta'rīx (Historiae)*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma (Leiden, 1883)

MSS: (Cambridge) Cambridge University QQ10. Date: 1684/85–1685/86

* The recent Egyptian edition *(Ta'rīx aṭ-Ṭabarī*, ed. Muḥammad Abū'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Qāhira, 1962–1967) does not contain any significant variations from the older de Goeje edition in the passages of interest to us. Unless otherwise indicated, all citations are from the de Goeje edition.

(Manchester) John Rylands Library Arabic Ms. 231. Date: c. 1350

16. *Yāqūt* ibn ʿAbdallāh ar-Rūmī al-Ḥamawī (flourished: 1179–1229)
Work: *Muʿjam al-Buldān (Yacuts geographisches Wörterbuch)*, ed. F. von Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–73)
MSS: (Oxford) Bodleian, Marsh 131–132. Date: 1472
(London) British Museum 16,649. Date: 17th century
(London) British Museum 23,371. Date: 16th century
(Paris) Bibliothèque Nationale 2226–2228. Date: 1850 (copied from an earlier Istanbul Ms.)
(Paris) Bibliothèque Nationale 6600–6601. Date: 1859–1860
(Berlin) Staatsbibliothek der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz 6040. Date: c. 1840
(Istanbul) Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, III Ahmet Kütüphanesi 2715, II, IV. Date: II is undated. IV: 1414
(Istanbul) Köprülü 1161–1163. Date: 626/1228–1229

BYZANTINE

1. Constantinus Porphyrogenitus (wrote: tenth century)
Works: (*i*) *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. J. Bekker (Bonnae, 1840). Most recent edition: *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. Gy. Moravcsik–R. Jenkins (Washington, 1967)
MS: (Paris) Bibliothèque Nationale 2009. Date: 11th century
(*ii*) *De Cerimoniis aulae byzantinae libri*, ed. I.I. Reiske (Bonnae, 1829–1830)
MS: (Leipzig) Bibliotheca Urbis 17*. Date: 12th century

2. Ioannes Scylitzes (wrote: second half of 11th century)
Work: *Σύνοψις ἱστοριῶν. Georgius Cedrenus Ioannis Scylitzae ope*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonnae, 1839).
MSS: (Vienna) Nationalbibliothek Hist. 35. Date: 13th century
(Vatican) Biblioteca Vaticana 161. Date: 13th century

*Manuscript not consulted. Fragments of this work are also found in: Hierosolymitanus bibl. patr. 39 (12th–13th century) and Medic. — Laurent. LV, 4 (10th century — only f. 1r–1v). For the above, *see* Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, I, p. 282.

3. Nicephorus Patriarcha (died: 829)
Work: Ἱστορία σύντομος. *Breviarium rerum post Mauricium gestarum*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonnae, 1837)
MSS: (London) British Museum, Add. 19,390. Date: 9th century
(Vatican) Biblioteca Vaticana 977. Date: 11th–12th century

4. Theophanes (flourished: c. 752–818, wrote: c. 810–814)
Work: Χρονογραφία. *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor (Lipsiae, 1883, reprint: Hildesheim, 1963)
MSS: (Oxford) Library of Christ Church 5. Date: 10th century
(Paris) Bibliothèque Nationale 1710. Date: 10th century

5. Theophanes Continuatus (wrote: 10th century)
Work: Theophanes Continuatus, *Historiae*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonnae, 1838)

6. Theophylactus Simocatta (wrote: early seventh century)
Work: Ἱστορίαι or Οἰκουμενικὴ ἱστορία. *Historiae*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonnae, 1834)
MS: (Vatican) Biblioteca Vaticana 977 (ff. Ir-184r). Date: 11th–12th century

7. *Anonymous Byzantine Chronicle* (date: c. 742–746)
Title: Παραστάσεις σύντομοι χρονικαί. T. Preger, *Scriptores rerum Constantinopolitanarum.* (Lipsiae, 1901), pp. 19–73
Georgius Codinus, *Excerpta de antiquitatibus Constantinopolitanis*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonnae, 1843), pp. 166–193
MS: (Paris) Bibliothèque Nationale 1336. Date: 11th century

8. *Notitiae Episcopatuum* (dated: c. 733–746)
Published edition: *see* G. I. Konidares, "*Αἱ μητροπόλεις καὶ ἀρχιεπισκοποὶ τοῦ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριαρχείου καὶ ἡ τάξις αὐτῶν*" *Texte und Forschungen zur byzantinisch-neugriechischen Philologie*, 13 (Athens, 1934), pp. 87–103
MS: (Paris) Bibliothèque Nationale 1555A (ff. 23v–27v) (date: 14th century)*

9. *Notitiae Geographicae* (Notes made to *Notitiae Episcopatuum* by an unknown Scholiast. *See* C. De Boor, "Nachträge zu den Notitiae

Episcopatuum" *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 12 (1890–1891), pp. 533–534).

MS: (Paris) Bibliothèque Nationale 1555A (f. 27v) (date: 14th century)*

CAUCASIAN

I. *Armenian*

1. The Vardapet *Łewond* (Łevond, Ghevond etc.) (wrote: eighth century)

Work: *Patmutʿiwn Łewondeay meci vardapeti Hayocʿ*, ed. I. Ezeancʿ (St. Peterburg, 1887). Trans.: Ghévond, *Histoire des guerres et des conquêtes des Arabes en Arménie*, trans. V. Chahnazarian (Paris, 1856)

MSS: (Yerevan) Matenadaran 1902 (formerly Ečmiadzin 1722). Date: 13th century

Prof. Hrač M. Bartikyan of the Institut Istorii Akademii Nauk Armianskoi SSR has written to me of seven other Łewond Mss. in the Matenadaran. Five of them are from the 17th century, the others are from the 18th and 19th centuries respectively. Prof. Bartikyan considers it more than likely that MS. No. 1902 was the original upon which the others were based. I have, therefore, limited myself only to this MS.

2. Movsēs Dasxurancʿi (a compilation in which several hands are involved) (flourished: ? According to Dowsett who has translated this work (C. J. F. Dowsett, *The History of the Caucasian Albanians*, p. XX): ". . . the last person to have had a hand in the History of the Ałuankʿ wrote at the earliest at the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century. This person may have been Dasxurancʿi . . .")

Work: *Patmutʿiwn Ałuanicʿ* (M. Emin, *Movsēsi Kałankatuacʿwoy Patmutʿiwn Ałuanicʿ ašxarhi*, Moskva, 1860, reprinted Tiflis, 1912).

MS: Prof. Dowsett in the introduction to his translation of this work lists a large number of MSS. In correspondence and in personal

* Not consulted.

conversations with me, he recommended the British Museum MS. OR 5261 as best for my purposes. I have used only this MS. Date: Dowsett considers this manuscript to be from the 17th century.

3. *The Armenian Geography.* This work *(Ašxarhacʿoycʿ Movsesi Xorenacʿwoy)* ascribed to the fifth-century writer Movsēs Xorenacʿi is, according to Toumanoff (*Studies in Christian Caucasian History*, p. 18) among others, a work of Ananias of Siracene (latter half of the seventh century). There are, needless to say, numerous problems with regard to this text, a critical re-edition of which is *long* overdue. I have used here the 1881 edition: *Géographie du Moïse de Corène* ed. trans. A. Soukry (Venise, 1881) as well as the excerpts found in Marquart's *Streifzüge.*

While on the subject of *Xorenacʿiana*, one may note the *History of Armenia* of Pseudo-Movsēs Xorenacʿi [*see* Moïse de Khorène, *Histoire d'Arménie*, ed. trans. P. E. Le Vaillant de Florival (Venise, 1841)] which contains some notices of interest to us. According to Toumanoff (op. cit., p. 18) this is "a compilation of the eighth century".

As to the Armenian literature I relied on translations and the generosity of scholars in Armenian studies who aided me in locating the passages I needed in both the printed editions of these works and the manuscripts. Special thanks are due Prof. N. Garsoïan and Dr. K. Maksudian of Columbia University who gave generously of their time and broad knowledge of things Armenian.

II. *Georgian*

The *Kʿartʿlis Cʿxovreba* is a compilation of a number of chronicles, written at various times and covering various periods. The first corpus of the chronicles came into existence in the eighth century. To this corpus later chronicles were added. Finally, in the early eighteenth century, King Vaxtang VI appointed a commission of scholars to revise and codify this mass of historical writings. S. Qauxčʿišvili's edition of the *Kʿartʿlis Cʿxovreba* (Tbilisi, 1955–1959, 2 vols) contains the Vaxtang Codex and some of the works and variants that did not appear in the eighteenth century Codex (*see* Qauxčʿišvili, *Kʿartʿlis Cʿxovreba*, I, pp. 07–054 for a complete listing of the MSS used in his edition as well as an historiographical review; the latter can also be found in C. Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History*, pp. 20–27). The individual chronicles which are of interest to us are: Juan-

ser's *C'xovreba da mok'alak'oba Vaxtang Gorgaslisa* covering the fifth through seventh centuries and the anonymous *Matiane K'art'lisa* covering the eighth to eleventh centuries.

HEBREW

1. *Letter of the Qagan Joseph*, written, judging from internal evidence, in the mid-tenth century. The text of the letter is found together with the letter of Ḥasday ben Šaprut in the Library of Christ Church (Oxford) MS. No. 193. Kokovtsov and Dunlop favor the view that the Christ Church MS. "served directly or indirectly as a source of the printed text" (Dunlop, *op. cit.*, p. 130). The Christ Church MS. contains the Short Version of Joseph's reply. The Long Version is found in the Leningrad Public Library MS. Heb. 157 of the second Firkovič collection (I have not consulted this manuscript). Texts of the letter were first published by Isaac Aqriš in Constantinople in 1577 in a volume entitled *Qol Mebasser* (*see* Bodleian MSS nos 1074 and 1098). All the texts with a voluminous commentary have been published by Kokovtsov *(Evreisko-xazarskaia perepiska v X veke)*.

   The Christ Church Manuscript according to Kokovtsov (*op. cit.*, p. XI), should probably be dated to the sixteenth century. For a definitive discussion of the question of the authenticity of the Khazar–Jewish correspondence *see* Dunlop, *op. cit.* Chapter VI.

2. *The Cambridge Document* was first published by S. Schechter ("An Unknown Khazar Document" *Jewish Quarterly Review*, new series, III, 1912). This article contains photographs of the four pages of the text, a printed version of the text and an English translation. The Document came from the Cairo Genizah and, according to Schechter, was written somewhere in the Orient about the twelfth century. It is not clear when the letter, purportedly from a Khazar Jew, was composed. It speaks of the Qağan Joseph as a contemporary. Whether this is a literary device or reflects the actual state of affairs is an open question.
   MS: (Cambridge) Cambridge T-S Loan 38. Date: Twelfth century (?)

3. *Sefer Yosippon*, unknown author. It was composed in Italy in 953 [*see* D. Flusser, "The Author of the Book of Josephon: his Personality and his Age" (in Hebrew with English résumé). *Zion*, XVIII (1953)]. The most recent edition is: *Sefer Yosippon* ed. H. Hominer (Jerusalem, 1956). Relevant passages may also be found in Harkavi, *Skazaniia evreiskix pisatelei o xozarax i xozarskom carstve* SPb. 1874).

[Another Khazar document was uncovered several years ago in the Cambridge University Library's collection of Cairo Genizah fragments by Prof. N. Golb and is currently being prepared for publication by that scholar and Prof. O. Pritsak. A detailed discussion of its contents will not appear in this work, as this will, no doubt, be given in the Golb—Pritsak publication. We shall, then, limit our comments to noting that it is a Hebrew document containing a number of Judaeo-Khazar names and Runic characters. Ms. T-S 12,122]

PERSIAN

1. Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdallāh *al-Balʿumī* (flourished: tenth century)

   Work: *Taʾrīx-i Ṭabarī.* This is both a translation and in some areas a reworking of Ṭabarī's huge history. It contains many additional elements which are of particular interest to Khazar studies. Printed edition of notices on the Khazars: B. Dorn, "Nachrichten ueber die Chazaren", *Mémoires de l'Academie Imperiale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg.* VI[e] série, t. VI (1844)

   MSS: (Oxford) Bodleian, Elliot 376. Date: 1537
   (Oxford) Bodleian, Fraser 131. Undated
   [Other MSS: Ouseley 359, 360 contain only abbreviated passages on the Khazars and none of the words of interest to us.]
   (Paris) Bibliothèque Nationale, Pers. 63. Date: 1483
   (Paris) Bibliothèque Nationale, Pers. Suppl. 162A. Date: 1483
   (Paris) Bibliothèque Nationale, Pers. Suppl. 166. Date: 1695
   [MS. Pers. 63 is much like Elliot 376. Other MSS (Pers. 162, 163, 164) did not contain Khazar words. The Vienna MS (Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Mixt. 374) and the facsimile edition of the late 12th century (Kitābxāna-i Āstān-i Quds 7481) manuscript (*see, Tāʾrīx-i Ṭabarī*, ed. M. Minovī, Tehran, 1345/1926–27) similarly do not contain material pertinent to our study.]

2. Abū Sāʿīd ʿAbd al-Ḥayy ibn Ḍaḥḥāk *Gardīzī* (wrote: c. 1050)

   Work: *Zayn al-Axbār* Passages on the Khazars can be found in Pauler and Szilágyi (eds), *A magyar honfoglalás kútfői. (MHK)* (Budapest, 1900) and V. V. Bartol'd, "Otčët o poezdke v Sredniuiu Aziiu s naučnoi tsel'iu v 1893–1894 gg.". *Zapiski Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk* VIII ser. po ist.-filolog. otdel. I, no. 4 (SPb., 1897)

MSS: (Oxford) Bodleian, Ouseley 240. Date: 16th century
(Cambridge) King's College 213. Date: 1524 (*see* W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, (London, 1928), p. 21; V. V. Bartol'd (Barthold), *Turkestan v epoxu mongol'skogo našestviia* in V. V. Bartol'd, *Sočineniia*, vol. I (Moskva, 1963), p. 66. I. Petruševskii, the editor of this re-edition of Barthold's classic work reads the date not as 930/1524 but 1093/1682. Barthold suggested that there is some evidence to support the view that the Oxford MS. was copied from the Cambridge MS).

Unfortunately for our study, the Cambridge MS is badly marred in the middle of the notice on the Khazars. Thus, the Oxford MS formed the basis for the readings given here. Where legible, the Cambridge readings have, of course, been included.

3. *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* (date: 982)
The author is unknown [*see* V. Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* (London, 1937), Gibb Memorial New Series, XI]

MS: Facsimile ed. "*Xudūd al-ʿĀlam*", *Rukopiś Tumanskogo*. S vvedeniem i ukazatelem V. Bartol'da (Leningrad, 1930). Date: 1258

Tribal Names

1. Q'AZAR

The forms of the ethnonym *Qʿazar* are listed below. As references to the Khazars are abundant, I have only indicated those authors whose works have substantial sections devoted to the Khazars. References to the page numbers of the printed editions of the sources and the folia of the manuscripts are not given here as this would prove too repetitious and bulky. Ample evidence for the forms listed here may be obtained by consulting any of the sources listed below as well as the manuscript photographs found in Vol. II. I have listed the forms here according to the language of the source in which they are found.

Arabic: الخزر *(al-Xazar)*[352]

[352] Ṭabarī, Balādhurī, Ibn Rusta, Ibn Xurdādhbih, Masʿūdī, Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī, Ibn Faḍlān, Iṣṭaxrī, Ibn Ḥawqal, al-Muqaddasī, al-Bakrī, ibn Yaʿqūb, al-Yaʿqūbī, Yāqūt and the Turkic authors writing in Arabic Münejjimbaši and Maḥmūd al-Kāšğarī. The latter has the form *Xozār*, *see Divanü Lūgat-it-Türk*, ed. Atalay, p. 207, line 10 and his translation, *Divanü Lūgat-it-Türk Tercümesi*, I, p. 411. Kāšğarī knew next to nothing about the Turkic peoples living near "Rūm" (Byzantium).

Hebrew: כזר *(Xazar)*,[353] קזר *(Qazar)*[354]
כוזר *(Xozar)*[355]
Persian: خزر *(Xazar)* خزریان *(Xazariyān)*[356]
Byzantine: *Χάζαροι (Xazar-oi)*[357]
Slavic: *(Vita Constantini, Vita Methodii)*: **козарѫ, козарь, козарꙗ, козарѫи, козарьскѫ, козарьскыѭ** (Old Ruś Chronicles): козарин, козары, козари *(Kozarъ, Kozar', Kozari, Kozary, Kozar'skъ, Kozar'skǫiǫ; Kozarin, Kozary, Kozari* etc.)[358]
Georgian: *Xazar-i*[359]
Armenian: *Խազիրք (Xazir-kʿ)*[360]
Latin: *Chazari, Chaziri, Gazari, Caziri*[361]
Hungarian: *Kazar, Kazár, Kozár*[362]
Chinese: 曷薩 *(Ho-sa)*, 可薩 *(K'o-sa)*[363]

Pronunciation: Arabic and Byzantine sources frequently render Turkic *qʿ* as *x* (خ, *x*). Németh[364] cites the following Byzantine *x* = Turkic *qʿ* par-

[353] Letter of Qağan Joseph, Christ Church MS. No. 193.

[354] The Cambridge Document, Cambridge MS. T-S Loan 38, p. 1, lines 3, 7, 11, 18; p. 2, lines 3, 9, 13, 17; p. 3, lines 3, 8, 10, 15; p. 4, lines 14, 16.

[355] *Sefer Yosippon* [cited in A. Harkavi, *Skazaniia evreiskix pisatelei o xozarax i xozarskom tsarstve* (SPb, 1874), p. 38] Hominer ed., p. 45.

[356] Balʿamī, Gardīzī, *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*.

[357] Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *DAI*; Theophanes, *Chronographia*; Nicephorus Patriarcha, *Breviarium*; Io. Scylitzes-Cedrenus. *See* Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 336 for further listings.

[358] *See* (in *Vita Constantini* and *Vita Methodii*) Lehr-Spławiński, *Żywoty Konstantyna i Metodego*, pp. 27, 33, 53, 75, 105; *Constantinus et Methodius Thessalonicenses, Fontes*, ed. Grivec and Tomšić, pp. 109, 110, 111, 118, 123, 134, 154.

[359] *Kʿartʿlis Cʿxovreba*.

[360] Movsēs Dasxurancʿi, Movsēs Xorenacʿi, Łewond.

[361] Christian Druthmar, "Expositio in Matthaeum Evangelistam" *Patrologiae cursus completus*, series latina, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1864), t. 106, col. 1456; Liudprand, *Antapodosis*, Lib. I, II [*see* text in *Die Werke Liudprands von Cremona*, ed. J. Becker (Hannover–Leipzig, 1915), p. 9]; *Ravennatis anonymi Cosmographia*, ed. J. Schnetz in *Itineraria Romana* (Leipzig, 1940), II, p. 44; Plano Carpini, *Historia Mongalorum, viaggio di F. Giovanni da Pian del Carpine ai Tartari nel 1245–47*, ed. trans. G. Pullé (Firenze, 1913), pp. 82, 95, 111; The Bavarian Geographer [*see* H. Łowmiański, "O pochodzeniu Geografa bawarskiego" *Roczniki Historyczne*, XX (1955), pp. 13, 17].

[362] *See* Gombocz, *BTL*, p. 198.

[363] Chavannes, *Documents*, pp. 145, 256 and *Notes additionelles*, p. 78.

[364] Németh, *Die Inschriften von Nagy-Szent-Miklós*, p. 51. *See* also his article "A magyar népnév, a magyar törzsnevek, a kazár népnév" *MNy*, XXXIV (1938), p. 68 and T. Halasi-Kun, "Orta kıpçakça *q-*, *k-* > O meselesi" in *Türk dili ve tarihi hakkında*

allels: *Γεήχ = Yäyıq* (the Pečeneg form of Yayıq, the Ural river); *Χαβουξιν = Q'abuqšın; Χαραβόη = Q'ara bay; Χοπόν = Q'apan.*

The use of Arabic خ (x) = Turkic *q*, *q'* can be seen in: خاقان *(xāqān)* = 'qağan'; خلخ *(Xallux)* = 'Qarluq' [a form with ك (q) also exists[365]]; خرخيز *(Xirxīz)* = 'Qırğız'.

In Armenian a similar phenomenon can be observed: *խաքան (xak'an)* = 'qağan'; *խաթիրլիբեր (Xat'irlit'ber)* = '*Qağır il/el täbär'.

An initial *q* > *x* change does take place in one Common Turkic dialect, Armeno-Quman *(xara = qara*[366]), but this should, I think, be ascribed to substratal influence. Qaraim, Armeno-Quman's closest relative within the Qıpčaq-Quman group, does not show this tendency in initial position.[367] An initial *q* > *x* change is in evidence in Čuvaš. Given the middle *z* in *Q'azar*, however, this ethnonym cannot be classified as Oğuric where one would expect the form **Q'arar* instead of *Q'azar* [*cf.* Common Turkic *qazan*, Čuv. *xuran*, Hung. (= OČuv.?) *harang?*[368]]. In any event, judging from the Oğuric loanwords in Hungarian, the *q* > *x* change in Oğuric appears to have taken place late in the period of Hungarian contact with Oğuric and hence late in the Khazar period,[369] long after the forms of the ethnonym *Q'azar* were fixed in the sources. Hungarian shows this clearly for, with the exception of *homok (*xomaq* = Com. Turk. *qum)* and *harang*, all the other loanwords show *k: káka* = "bulrush" *(cf.* Qaz.T. *qaqı*, Čuv. *xӳxē); kancsó* = "pitcher," "jug" *(cf.* Čağ. *qončaq); kanyaró* = "measles" *(cf. qaramıq*[370]*).*

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araştırmalar, ed. H. Eren, T. Halasi-Kun (Ankara, 1950), I, pp. 47–50; V. V. Bartol'd, "Kirgizy, istoričeskii očerk" in *Sočineniia* II/1, p. 491.

[365] Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, p. 286.

[366] *See* Tryjarski, *Dictionnaire*, I/3 for numerous examples. For further information the reader is directed to J. Deny, *L'arméno-coman et les "Ephémérides" de Kamieniec* (Wiesbaden, 1957), p. 19; Grunin, *Dokumenty*, pp. 348, 351; E. Schütz, *An Armeno-Kipchak Chronicle on the Polish-Turkish Wars in 1620–1621*, pp. 100–102. A sporadic change of *q* > *x* does take place in various positions in a variety of Turkic languages (*see PhTF*, I, pp. 54, 92, 120, 147, 166, 251, 275, 291, 329, 352, 279, 455, 542).

[367] A *q* > *x* change does take place in Qaraim in final position, *see* T. Kowalski, *Karaimische Texte im Dialekt von Troki* (Kraków, 1929), p.xxxii; K. M. Musaev, *Grammatika karaimskogo iazyka* (Moskva, 1964), pp. 67–68.

[368] *Cf.* the hypothesis put forward by M. K. Palló ["Das ung. Wort *harang*, Glocke" *UAJb*, 42 (1970), p. 51] that *harang* is a metathesized loanword from Turkic, based on **qongar (cf.* Čuv. *konkar).*

[369] Gombocz, *BTL*, p. 165.

[370] L. Ligeti, "Régibb török jövevényszavaink magyarázatához" *MNy*, XXXIII (1937), pp. 300–301.

The o *(o)* in the Slavic forms is a rendering of Turkic *ȧ*. There are numerous examples of this. Menges, in his article on Turkic loanwords in Old Russian,[371] notes that the Avar and Bulğar name *Bayan* ". . . an ancient Altaic term meaning a singer of old tribal sagas . . ." appears in Medieval Slavic as *Boyan* (= "bard," the bard *par excellence* of the *Slovo o polku Igoreve*). Thus, ". . . *o* in the first syllable for Turkic *ȧ* while the *a* of the second syllable, in contemporary Turkic languages only slightly labialized, is rendered in Old Russian as *a*."[372] Further examples of this can be seen in: оперълюеве *(operъliueve* = *ap-erlü = *alperlü[373]); коган *(kogan)* = qağan; обрин *(Obrin)* = Obr = Abar = Avar.

As I have no knowledge of the history of Chinese phonetics, I shall not dwell on the Chinese forms. I would only like to note that due to the nature of the Chinese system of writing, the transcription of foreign words often appears to be at variance with the forms found in other sources.

Hungarian also shows an *o* in the first syllable, particularly in place names in which the ethnonym *Q'azar* figures: *Kazár*, *Kozár*, *Kozárd*, *Kozárom*, *Kis-Kozár*, *Nagy-Kozár*, *Egyházas Kozár*, *Rácz Kozár* and *Kozárvár* in the Baranya, Fejér, Nógrád, Szatmár (Oğuric? *cf. Satmaz*), Szolnok-Doboka, Valkó, Vas and Zala counties.[374] These names may well go back to Qabar times. One can also note that in no case is there a $q > x$ change evident.

Q'azar, in the form *Kozar*, *Xosar*, *Kasar* is cited by V. T. Egorov ("Ėtnogenez čuvašei po dannym iazyka" *Sovetskaia Ėtnografiia* 1950, No. 3, p. 89) as a Čuvaš pagan name (others mentioned are *Bulgar*, *Savir*, *Savirka*, *Savrik*, *Savrila*, *Avarin*, *Aver* etc.).

Comments: Both Németh and Gombocz have advanced the etymology *Q'azar* = aorist form of the verb *q'az-/qaz-* "errer," "vagabonder"[375] [*cf.* Radloff, II/1, p. 362 (Čağ., Vámbéry, Pavet de Courteille): "herumirren"]. Németh also notes the existence of this word in this (the velar) form in the *Codex Cumanicus*. This is, however, a mistake. The form found here is *chazarmen* = **q'ačar män* "fugio".[376] He also cites this form in his Qumuq

[371] K. H. Menges, "On Some Loanwords from or via Turkic in Old Russian" *Fuad Köprülü Armağanı*, ed. O. Turan, H. Eren (Istanbul, 1953), pp. 370–371.

[372] Menges, *op. cit.*, p. 371.

[373] K. H. Menges, "The Oriental Elements in the Vocabulary of the Oldest Russian Epos, the Igor' Tale", Supplement to *Word*, Monograph No. 1 (New York, 1951), p. 42.

[374] Németh, *HMK*, p. 238; Gombocz, *BTL*, p. 198.

[375] Gombocz, *BTL*, p. 199.

[376] *Codex Cumanicus*, ed. G. Kuun (Budapest, 1880), p. 27. *See* Grønbech, *Kom. Wb.* p. 188, *qač-ar (chaz-; chazar/kač-)* "fliehen," "fugere".

vocabulary meaning "wander," "ramble," "roam," "flee," "run away" (*kóborolni, futni, menekülni*[377]). Németh classifies the ethnonym *Q'azar* as part of that family of Turkic names the meanings of which point to events in the history of the people, especially those names which connote the idea of "flight" and "wandering".[378] Semantically similar names, in his view, are:

1. *Sabır/Sabar/Sapar* (*Sap-* Radloff, IV/1, p. 402, Qır., Qum., Qaz. T., Osm. (*i*) "den Weg verlassen," "vom Wege abweichen" (*ii*) "den Weg verlieren," "sich verirren," "irren.")
2. *Qazaq* (written in Modern Russian as *Kazax*) which can be viewed as coming from the same root as *Q'azar* (Radloff, II/1, p. 364 (*i*) Čağ., Qrm., Qaz. T. "ein freier, unabhängiger Mensch," "Abenteurer," "Vagabond." Houtsma, *TAG*, p. 86 has: *qazaq* "Landstreicher". The *At-Tuḥfat* has the rather interesting expanded meaning: *qazaq bašlı* — "bachelor.")[379]
3. *Yazar* (*yaz-* Radloff, III/1, p. 226, Qaz.T., Qum., Qrm. "vom graden Wege abweichen," "den Weg verlieren," "umherirren," "sündigen," "Fehler begehen").[380] Hungarian *jár* "go (about)", "move (about)" etc. comes, undoubtedly, from an Oğuric form of this verb.
4. *Qačar/Qaǰar* (*qač-* Radloff, II/1, p. 332, Tar., Qrm., Qum., Qaz.T., Alt., Tel., Leb., Qır., QQır., OT., Uyğ., Osm., Qar.T. "fliehen.")

Németh views the root *qaz-* as simply a velar variant of the much more widely repanded palatal form *käz-*.[381] The verb *käz-/kez-* does not appear in the Orxon inscriptions. It is found, however, in the Uyğur Turfan texts,[382]

[377] Németh, *HMK*, p. 37 and his "Kumük és Balkár szójegyzék" *KSz*, XII (1911–1912), p. 130. The current *Kumyksko-Russkii slovar'/Qumuqča–Rusča sözlük*, ed. Z. Z. Bammatov (Moskva, 1963), p. 94 only lists *gezmek* (1) "guliat', progulivat'sia; brodit', xodit'..." (2) "putešestvovat', stranstvovat'" which here appears suspiciously like a loanword from Oğuz Turkic.

[378] Németh, *HMK*, p. 36.

[379] *At-Tuḥfat az-Zakīyah*, ed. Halasi-Kun, f. 24r; Atalay ed., p. 24b. Gabain ["Kazaklık" in the *Németh Armağanı*, ed. J. Eckmann *et al.* (Ankara, 1962), p. 169] in her discussion of this term notes its existence in other Qıpčaq dialects (Qazan Tatar) and connects *qaz-*, Qazaq etc. with the verb *qazğan-* ~ *qazan-* ("obtain", "seize", "gain") which I do not find very convincing. Räsänen (*Versuch*, p. 243) notes that this word has passed from Qazan Tatar to Čuvaš (*Xozax, Xuzax*) and Čeremis (*Ozak, Ožak* "Witwer").

[380] *See* also Räsänen, *Versuch*, p. 193.

[381] Németh, *HMK*, p. 37.

[382] Caferoğlu, *Uygur sözlüğü*, p. 83: *käzmäk* — "gezmek," "dolaşmak," "geçmek." *DTS*, p. 305, *kez-* "xodit'," "brodit'," "stranstvovat'".

the *Qutadğu Bilig*[383] (c. 1069–1070) and Maḥmūd al-Kāšğarī.[384] Medieval Central Asian Turkic and Medieval Qıpčaq (in both its Mamlūk and Quman forms) also have this form: *käz-* "obxodit'," "putešestvovat' ",[385] Quman: *kez-*, *-er* (kezer) "umhergehen" *kezermen* "circuo";[386] *Kitāb al-Idrāk: käzdi* – gezdi.[387] Radloff (II/2, p. 1171) gives the following forms: *käz-* Čağ., Qar.L. "durchziehen," "durchlaufen", *kez-* Qır. "umherschweifen," "sich umhertreiben." Modern Turkish has the form *gez-* with a meaning identical to those given above. Thus, the overwhelming majority of the Turkic languages have the palatal form of this verb.

The Németh–Gombocz etymology rests on the acceptance of parallel velar and palatal forms in the various Turkic dialects. This is a very complex question which does not, at present, offer any easy solutions. Ščerbak has hypothesized that "in the common-Turkic base-language, certain words had two variants, hard and soft, with the same meaning (for example Yaqut *oğuz* "ox" in the other Turkic languages *ögüz*, *öküz*, *ögiz*). In that dialect which served as the base for the Yaqut language the variant of the hard variety was predominant . . ."[388]

The example cited by Ščerbak is, from the point of view of substantiating his thesis, rather poor.[389] Yaqut (and Čuvaš from which he also draws a number of examples) stand outside the mainstream of Turkic and have undergone a different development. Phonetic developments in these two languages are not necessarily binding on the rest of Turkic. Moreover, the word *öküz* may well be a borrowing from Indo-European (*cf.* Toxarian *oxso*, Germ. *Ochs*, Eng. *ox*, etc.) and hence subject to a different treatment. In citing examples such as *tıl-til, pıš-piš, ıt-it* and *ış-iš*, Ščerbak is on somewhat more solid ground.[390]

I have drawn up, below, a small listing of words with both velar and palatal forms. Some are quite well-known and hence do not require detailed

[383] *Kutadgu Bilig* (tıpkıbasım, Fergana nüshası), ed. Türk Dil Kurumu (Istanbul, 1942), II, p. 64.

[384] Maḥmūd al-Kāšğarī, *Divan*, ed. Atalay, p. 268. *ol yeriğ kezdi* "that is he traveled about the earth, walked on it. *kezär, kezmäk.*"

[385] Borovkov, *Leksika*, p. 169.

[386] Grønbech, *Kom. Wb.*, p. 142.

[387] Abū Hayyān, *Kitāb al-İdrāk*, ed. transl. Caferoğlu, p. 85 (Arabic text), p. 48 (Turkish translation). This text also gives the word *käzüç* "çok gezen adam," "gezgin." (p. 47).

[388] A. M. Ščerbak, "O tiurkskom vokalizme" *Tiurkologičeskie issledovaniia*, ed. A. K. Borovkov et al. (Moskva–Leningrad, 1973), p. 36.

[389] Räsänen, *Versuch*, p. 370 cites Qazax *oğıs*.

[390] Ščerbak, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

treatment. Others, however, present a variety of problems and will thus require a more detailed exposition. The list is by no means exhaustive (this could be the subject of a separate study) and hence is not offered as proof of the Ščerbak hypothesis. My intention is to merely point out that these parallels do exist and that an etymology for the ethnonym *Q'azar* based on the verb *qaz-*, a velar variant of the much better known *käz-*, is not an impossibility.

1. *Qazaq — Gezek*[391]
2. *qawšaq* (Radloff, II/2, p. 475 Čağ., Qaz.T.) "locker," "schwach"; *qawša-* "locker, lose, schwach werden." Buxārī, Šeyx Süleymān Efendi, *Luğat*, p. 224: *qavšaq – gevşek* (Osm. Redhouse, p. 398: *gevşek* "loose," "slack," "lax"); *qavšamaq–gevşemek* – "become loose, slack, lax".
3. *qop-* (Radloff, II/1, p. 650 Qum., Qrm., Uyğ., Osm., Čağ., ET., Qar.L.T.) "sich erheben." – *köp-* (Radloff, II/2, p. 1310, Alt., Tel., Leb., Küär., Qır., Šor.) "anschwellen" (*cf.* also Osm. *köpük* "foam").
4. *bičaq – bičäk* "nož"; *bıčqu, bıčqı* "pila" – *bičkü* "meč," "nož" (*see* Fazylov, *Starouzbekskii iazyk*, I, pp. 254, 260).
5. *tanrı* (Osm.) "God" – *teńri, tengri* "*idem*" (numerous dialects).
6. *qabır-čaq, qabur-čaq* etc. – *köbür, kübür-čük*
   a) *At-Tuḥfat* (ed. Halasi-Kun), f. 22b: *sanduq*: *qabarčaq – *kübürčük*.
   b) *Kitāb al-Idrāk* (ed. Caferoğlu), p. 78 (Arabic text): *kübür – al-sanduq*; p. 68 (Arabic text): *qaburčaq – al-ḥuqqa*; *qaburčaqlı bağa* – al-salaḥfāh.
   c) *Bulğat al-Muštāq*, I. (ed. Zajączkowski), p. 5 (Arabic text) p. 37: *qabarčaqly bağa* "żółw/tortue lit. żaba pokryta łuską, sklepieniem/grenouille à écaille, à caisse *cf.* Karaim *g'ub'urlu bağa* 'żółw/tortue, Radloff, II, p. 1651 *g'ub'ur* 'der Kasten' ".[392]
   d) *Ibnü-Mühennā Lūgati* (trans. A. Battal), p. 36: *kabırčak*: "sandık"
   e) Maḥmūd al-Kāšğarī, *Divan* (ed. Atalay), p. 250: *qabırčaq – al-tabut* Brockelmann Kāšğarī, p. 139: *qabyrčaq* "Kiste," "Sarg".
   f) Pröhle, "Karatschajisches W." *KSz*, X (1909), p. 112: *k'übür* "Lade," *k'übürčük*. From Qaračay this word entered Anatolian Turkish via emigrés from the Caucasus.[393]
   g) Hung. *koporsó* (*see* Gombocz, *BTL*, p. 98: OČuv. **kopurčağ*)

[391] A Turkmen word according to Németh, *HMK*, p. 37. This word is not found in the current Turkmen dictionary.

[392] *Cf.* Houtsma, *TAG*, p. 87: *qabırčaqlu bağa* "Schildkröte".

[393] H. Eren, "Anadolu'da Kafkasya Türkleri" *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı* (1961), p. 337.

h) Mongol *qayirčag* *qawīrčag **qawīrčug* **kapīrčuk* **qawūrčug* *qağurčag* "Kasten," "Kiste"
Qabır/Kübür — Indo-European (*cf.* Latin *corbis* "wicker basket", Slav. *korob*) with metathesis?

In Hungarian we find a small grouping of Turkic loanwords which show either a velar or palatal divergence from the Turkic norm. It is very difficult to determine whether this is the result of Hungarian influence or the fact that these words may have been borrowed from an Oğuric language which may have had a variant pronunciation.

Hung.	*Turkic*
1. *csökönyös* "obstinate" (Gombocz, *BTL*, p. 64:) ~ OČuv. **čikin*	*čığın* (Radloff, III/2, p. 2064, Qaz.T.) "eigensinnig," "halsstarrig"; *tsığın-lan-* (Radloff, IV/1, p. 204) "stetisch sein (von Pferden)." *čığımčı* (*Tat.–Russk. Slov.*, p. 644) "norovistyi," "upriamyi"
2. *kopó* "hound," "foxhound" (Gombocz, *BTL*, p. 98:) ~ OČuv. **kopağ*	*köpek* "dog" (Osm.)
3. *gödény* "pelican" ~ (Gombocz, *BTL*, p. 72:) OČuv. **kötän*; (Pekarskii, *Slovar' iakutskago iazyka*, I, 1265:) *Kutang* "kakaia to ptitsa", (II, 1345:) *Kütän* "ptitsa veličinoiu s žuravlia".	*qotan* (Radloff, II/1, p. 607 Čağ.) "der Pelikan"; Mong. *xutan*, Manču *kōtan*.
4. *bölény* — "bison," "buffalo" ~ (Gombocz, *BTL*, p. 55:) OČuv. **böläп*, Čuv. *pēlen*, *polan*, *pulan*	*bulan/pulan* (Radloff, IV/2, p. 1374 numerous dialects) "das Elenthier." Gombocz mentions a Baškir form *büläп*, I have been able to find only *bolan* (*Bašk.–Russ. Slov.*, p. 105)

The palatal form *käz-* appears to be the Altaic original ("**ker-ü-* > mo. *kerü-* 'wandern, sich umhertreiben' = ako. *kẹr-* 'gehen', ko. *kẹni-* < **kẹr-ni-* 'hin- und hergehen' = AT *käz-* 'reisen,' osm. *gäz-* 'spazieren'."[394]).

[394] Poppe, *Vergleichende Grammatik*, I, p. 19.

Another problem that might be raised in regard to the Németh–Gombocz thesis is that of the aorist in *-ar/-är*. As is known, the aorist form of the Turkic verb in Khazar times (*i.e.* the period of Ancient Turkic, the sixth to tenth centuries) is almost always formed with the suffix *-r*, *-ur/-ür*. Ramstedt, in regard to this, writes : "With roots ending in a consonant, as a rule, the ending *-ur* is used and only in those cases when the root is a very ancient root in *-a-* is the ending *-ar* found (for example Turkic *suq-ar* from Turkic *suq-*, Mong. *siqa-* "squeeze," "compress"). Later, formations, by analogy, led to the wider repansion of *-ar*, but in this question there is still a certain unclarity to this day."[395]

Thus, in the very early period, one might expect the form *Q'azur* instead of *Q'azar*.[396] As Ramstedt points out, however, the subject is by no means clear. The general tendency in Turkic at this time (judging from the none too abundant materials at our disposal) would seem to favor aorist endings in *-ur/-ür* (following a vowel either *-r* or *-yur/-yür*). There are, however, not a few exceptions in the Orxon inscriptions alone (*cf. bil-ïr*, *käl-ïr*, *täg-ïr*, *bat-ar*, *yas-ar*, *täz-är* etc.)[397] which have yet to be explained. It is interesting to note that the earliest texts in which I have been able to find *käz-* (texts of the eleventh century) give the aorist form as : *kezär*, *käzär*,[398] not *käzür*. The verbal root *qaz-/käz-*, thus, may well belong to that group of verbs which form their aorist moods with the suffix *-ar/är*.

P. Pelliot, proposed another etymology for *Q'azar*.[399] After giving a brief criticism of the Németh–Gombocz thesis, he argues that 1. *qaz-* is a much less frequently found form than *käz-*, 2. Németh's Qumuq "*qaz-*" may be a dialectical form of *qač-* "to flee" 3. *qaz-* may really be *käz-* but

[395] G. J. Ramstedt, *Einführung in die altaische Sprachwissenschaft*, II, *Formenlehre*, p. 86 ; *See* also A. von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1950), pp. 111–112 (where a list of verbs in *-ar/-är* is given) ; *Atabetü'l Hakayık*, ed. and commentary R. R. Arat (Istanbul, 1951), pp. 157–158 and M. Räsänen, "Materialen zur Morphologie der türkischen Sprachen" *Studia Orientalia*, XXI (1957), pp. 139–140.

[396] This particular question was raised by Prof. O. Pritsak of Harvard University in discussions we had in July, 1969, regarding a number of questions of Khazarology.

[397] Tekin, *op. cit.*, pp. 177, 191.

[398] *Cf.* Kāšğarī, *Divan*, ed. Atalay, p. 268, *Kutadğu Bilig* (Fergana nüshası), p. 64 (both from the eleventh century). Later works (fourteenth century), such as the *Codex Cumanicus* (*see* Grønbech, *Kom. Wb.*, p. 142), *Nehjü 'l Feradis* (*see* Fazylov, *Starouzbekskii iazyk*, I, p. 574) and the Turkic version of *Xusräv u Šïrïn* of Quṭb (*see* A. Zajączkowski, *Najstarsza wersja turecka Ḫusräv u Šïrïn Quṭba*, część I, Tekst, [Warszawa, 1958], p. 166) also have the form *käzär*.

[399] P. Pelliot, "Quelques noms turcs d'hommes et de peuples finissant en *-ar*" *Œuvres Posthumes* (Paris, 1949), II, pp. 207–224.

"heard accidentally as a velar"[400]. Pelliot suggests an etymology of the ethnonym *Qʿazar* from *Qasar* (which he views as a Turkic loanword in Medieval Mongol designating a species of ferocious dog ". . . probablement à l'origin un chien venant de chez les Ḫazar . . ."[401]). He postulates a dual pronunciation of "*Ḫazar/Qasar-Ḫasar*" among the Khazars themselves. The form *Ḫasar* is confirmed, he believes, by the Chinese *K'o-sa* and the Syriac *Xasir*. Moreover, Pelliot mentions a *Xasar Tegin* amongst the Uyğurs (we should note that the latter had in their tribal union, according to the Chinese sources[402] a tribe *Ko-sa*).

There are numerous difficulties with this formulation. We have no evidence indicating that the Ko-sa of the Uyğurs are identical with the K'o-sa (= Qazar). The *s* of *K'o-sa* and *Xasir* prove nothing. The Chinese forms are, at best, approximations. The *Xasir* of the *Ecclesiastical History* attributed to Zacharias Rhetor is probably a garbled form, as Marquart first noted,[403] of *Akatziroi* or *Xotziroi*, stemming originally from a Greek source. More damaging to Pelliot's presentation is the fact that Turkic tribes, as a rule, do not take such totemistic names as "dog" (*qasar*). There is one exception to this in medieval Turkic history [there are several modern-day exceptions among the Turkic tribes of Siberia (*cf. küärik* "squirrel") but this is due rather to Mongol and Palaeo-Siberian substratal influence]: the Qıpčaq-speaking Noğay, the greater bulk of whom now live in the North Caucasus and the Crimea. Even here, however, *Noğay* is a Mongol word (meaning "dog"). The Turkic people now bearing this name are the remnants of the horde of the famous Mongol prince, Noğay, a throne-maker and breaker of the Golden Horde whose personal horde consisted of a nucleus of Mongol tribesmen in a sea of Qıpčaq Turks.[404] *Noğay*, like *Tatar*, is a Mongol tribal name and hence does not fit into the general system of Turkic tribal names.

[400] Ibid., p. 216. Pelliot's criticisms do not hold up. The question of frequency is not an issue (the form *tanrı/tangrı* of Ottoman and a few other dialects, though much less wide-spread than *tengri* is just as *bona fide* a form as the latter. Secondly, there is no evidence for a *č* > *z* change in Qumuq (*see PhTF*, I, p. 396). Finally, the velar form *qaz-* is attested by three scholars (Vámbéry, de Courteille, Németh) working independently and in different areas. There can be no question of "accidents."

[401] Pelliot, "Quelques noms turcs . . ." *Œuvres Posthumes*, II, p. 208.

[402] D. W. Eberhard, *Çin'in şimal komşuları* (Ankara, 1942), p. 153; Liu Mau-tsai, *op. cit.*, II, p. 593; F. W. K. Müller, "Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Maḫrnāmag)" *Abhandlungen der K. Pr. Ak. Wiss.* (1912), p. 9.

[403] Marquart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 356, 491.

[404] Grekov, Iakubovskii, *Zolotaia orda i eë padenie*, pp. 85–88, 298. Iakubovskii notes (p. 298) that the Noğays were turkicized Mañğıts.

We have reviewed, thus, the more serious attempts at an acceptable etymology of the ethnonym *Q'azar*. Pelliot's assertions cannot be proven. The Németh–Gombocz thesis is a far better working hypothesis, though it too has its weak points. In its defence, one might cite Mas'ūdī's notice that *Xazar* is Persian and its Turkic equivalent is *Sabīr*.[405] Perhaps, in a very garbled fashion, Mas'ūdī (of whom Marquart wrote: "Man darf daher seine Worte nicht auf die Goldwage legen"[406]) has pointed to the semantic similarity of *Sabır* and *Q'azar* both meaning "nomad," "wanderer" an appellation very suited to these early Turkic tribes.

2. QABAR

This is the name of a Khazar tribe or grouping of dissident Khazar tribes who, having revolted against the Qağan and lost, fled to the Hungarians.[407] In Artamonov's view,[408] this was a revolt of the Khazar nobles against the usurpation of power by Obadiah, one of their number. Obadiah, in Artamonov's reconstruction of the events, became the real power in the Qağanate, having transformed the Qağan into a ceremonial figure. To bolster his power, he called in Pečeneg and Oğuz tribesmen to garrison the realm. The end of the civil war brought about by these changes was marked by the building of Sarkel in 838 and the elevation of Judaism to the status of the state religion of Khazaria.

Artamonov has read far more into the events than our sources warrant. He bases himself primarily on chapter thirty-nine of the *De Administrando Imperio* of Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, some rather vague archaeological evidence (the series of fortresses near Tsimliansk on the right bank of the Don) and the fact that the *Notitia Episcopatuum VI* (c. 815?) no longer lists the Khazarian and Gothic metropolies. The *strategos* of Xerson now, it appears, had Gothia under his control, having, according to Artamonov, detached it from Khazaria once the pro-Judaic policies of Obadiah became clear.

Much of Artamonov's theory revolves around various conjectures made about the policies and personality of Obadiah. We have only one source which mentions this Khazar ruler: the letter of the Qağan Joseph. The

[405] Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb at-Tanbīh wa'l Išrāf*, ed. de Goeje, p. 83.
[406] Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. xxxv.
[407] Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *DAI*, c. 39.
[408] Artamonov, *op. cit.*, pp. 324–329.

passage concerning him is as follows: "After these events [the conversion p. g.] there became king, from the sons of his [presumably Bulan or his co-ruler -- this is the logical conclusion from the passage in the text just prior to this which tells of the conversion of Bulan and his co-ruler to Judaism and the religious debate which took place at their court p. g.] sons, a king called Obadiah. He was a righteous and just man. He renewed the kingdom and strengthened the faith . . ."[409]

Joseph's letter brings to light several mistakes in Artamonov's argument. Firstly, Obadiah is clearly a direct descendant of either Bulan or his co-ruler and not a usurper or "major domo" from the ranks of the Khazar nobility. Secondly, there is no mention of civil strife within the Qağanate at his accession to the throne. In addition, we do not know when Obadiah's reign began. According to Masʿūdī[410] the conversion of the Khazars took place during the reign of Hārūn ar-Rašīd (i.e. not later than 809, the year of Hārūn's death). It is unclear whether Masʿūdī is referring to Bulan's conversion or whether his notice is an echo of increased religious activity that took place during Obadiah's reign (the letter of Joseph notes that Obadiah "built synagogues and schools and gathered a multitude of the wise men of Israel"[411]). The results of this religious activity can only be conjectured. Imre Boba has suggested that there were internal difficulties within the Qağanate, arising, in part, out of religious reasons, sometime around 854.[412] He bases himself on the notice in Balādhurī which tells of the settlement of Khazars in Šamkūr (Šamkʿori) in the Caucasus: "In the year 240, the city [Šamkūr p. g.] was rebuilt by Bugha, the freedman of al-Muʿtasim and the governor of Armenia, Adharbaijān and Shimshāt. He settled in it people from al-Khazar who, because of their interest in Islām came and sought security . . ."[413] We know from the *Kʿartʿlis Cʿxovreba* that three-hundred Khazar families, joined by one hundred Alan families were settled in the city by Buğa who was subsequently accused of conspiring with the Khazars and removed from his post.[414] Was this the result of Obadiah's religious policies? The evidence is circumstantial at best. Boba connects this event with the defection of the Qabars.[415] Our only source for the Qabars, Con-

[409] Kokovtsov, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

[410] Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, II, p. 8. *See* Dunlop's detailed discussion of the conversion dates: Dunlop, *op. cit.*, Chaps V–VI. Dunlop fixes the date (*see* p. 170) of the acceptance of Rabbinic Judaism by the Khazars around the year 800.

[411] Kokovtsov, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

[412] Boba, *op. cit.*, pp. 115–116.

[413] Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 203; trans. is Hitti's, *Origins*, p. 319.

[414] *Kʿartʿlis Cʿxovreba*, ed. Qauxčʿišvili, I, pp. 256–257.

[415] Boba, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

stantinus Porphyrogenitus, tells us that this dissident group fled to the Hungarians while the latter were still nomadizing in the Ukrainian steppes. His notice is very important and merits being quoted in full: "The so-called Kabaroi were of the race of the Chazars *(ἀπὸτῆς τῶν Χαζάρων γενεᾶς ὑπῆρχον)*. Now, it fell out that a secession was made by them to their government, and when a civil war broke out their first government prevailed, and some of them were slain, but others escaped and came and settled with the Turks [= the Hungarians were regularly called *Τοῦρκοι* by Constantinus Porphyrogenitus and other Byzantine sources p. g.] in the land of the Pechenegs, [i.e. in the lands which the Pečenegs had seized from the Hungarians when they drove them into Pannonia towards the end of the ninth century and which they continued to occupy in Constantinus' time p. g.], and they made friends with one another *(ἀλλήλοις συνεφιλώθησαν* [= 'they became brothers with one another' p. g.]) and were called Kabaroi' *(Κάβαροί τινες ὠνομάσθησαν)*. And so to these Turks [i. e. Hungarians p. g.] they taught also the tongue of the Chazars, and to this day they have this same language, but they have also the other tongue of the Turks [i. e. Hungarians]. And because in wars they show themselves strongest and most valorous of the eight clans [comprising the Hungarian tribal confederation p. g.], and are leaders in war, they have been promoted to be first clans. There is one prince *(ἄρχων)* among them, I mean, among the three clans of the Kabaroi, who is even to this day."[416]

From this account, it would appear that the Qabars were undistinguished from the rest of the Khazars up to the time of the revolt. There is no mention of this being an uprising of Khazar feudal lords, opposing, as Artamonov would have it, the institution of Judaism as the state religion and the establishment of a kind of shogunate which he believes resulted from it. The dual kingship amongst the Khazars is a Kök Türkic tradition having roots deep in Altaic antiquity.[417] Nomadic empires, such as the Khazar state, were composed of a conglomerate of forces, often centrifugal.[418] Civil wars, as the history of the Kök Türkic empire amply demonstrates, were not uncommon phenomena to the steppe. If the civil war which brought about the flight of the Qabars to the Hungarians (who were allies of the Khazars) was the result of a religious conflict (Shamanism or Islam versus Judaism), one of our sources would have surely mentioned it. The picture painted by the Emperor-Historian is that of a typical falling out of tribes

[416] Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *DAI*, (Bonn ed.), pp. 171–172. *See* Moravcsik–Jenkins ed., p. 174–5.

[417] Alföldi, "Türklerde çift krallık" *İkinci Türk Tarih Kongresi*, pp. 507–519.

[418] Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen*, p. 11.

within a nomadic state. The losing side removes itself from the tribal union and joins another. What is significant is that the dissident Khazars, once they joined the Hungarians, assumed a new name which, as we shall see, can perhaps be interpreted to mean "rebel" an accurate description of their position vis-a-vis the Khazar Qağanate. As Constantinus clearly notes, their language was and remained Khazar. Moreover, as Németh points out,[419] the Qabars formed the first line of battle in the Hungarian tribal union because they were the most recent tribe to join the confederacy. This is a common feature in the Turkic world.

Pritsak, in a very stimulating article[420] presents a somewhat different view of the problem. He considers the Qabars a distinct tribe within the Khazar tribal union ("die Kāwar waren einer der politischen Stämme der chazarischen Konföderation, in der Art der alttürkischen *budun*"). When they lost the war against the Khazar government, they fled to the Hungarians in *Λεβεδία* and joined their confederation which, in Pritsak's opinion (he is throughout basing himself on Chapter thirty-nine of the *DAI* — there is no other source) they came to lead. The new tribal union which resulted, took the name *Τοῦρκοι*, according to Pritsak, because the Qabars were of Kök Türkic origin whereas the former name of the Hungarian tribal union was *Σάβαρτοι ἄσφαλοι*, named after the then "Herrscherstamm," the *Σάβαρτοι*. Finally, Pritsak notes that the two languages which the Qabars taught their Ugric "Konföderierten" were Khazar and Turkic.[421]

There are a number of points in Pritsak's article to which one must take exception. There is no proof for the existence of a tribe called Qabar (its Oğuric form, Pritsak notes, would be **Yubar/*Yuvar*) before the time of the revolt (the appearance of the name يوارى "the Yuvar" in late thirteenth century Volga Bulğar inscriptions[422] may, perhaps, indicate that Qabars fled also to Volga Bulğaria. We shall see below, however, that we are not compelled to equate يوار with Qabar). Constantinus' statement, "And because in wars they show themselves strongest and most valorous of the

[419] Németh, *HMK*, pp. 234–235. *See* the notice in the *T'ang-shu* regarding the Uyğur tribal union (Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 94). It reports that after the conquest of the Basmıl and Qarluq (Pa-si-mi and Ko-lo-lu), these tribes were added to the tribal union, the name of which now became the "Eleven tribes." "Each time the Uyğurs go out on campaign or halt, fight or give battle, they always form their advance guard from these two tribes." *See also* N. V. Kiuner, *Kitaiskie izvestiia o narodax Iužnoi Sibiri, Tsentral'noi Azii i Dal'nego Vostoka* (Moskva, 1961), p. 33.

[420] O. Pritsak, "يوار *Yowár* und *Κάβαρ Kāwar*", *UAJb*, XXXVI (1965).

[421] *Ibid.*, pp. 381–382.

[422] *Ibid.*, pp. 392–393.

eight clans, and are leaders in war, they have been promoted to be first clans." (Const. Porph. pp. 174–175.), is probably best understood in Németh's interpretation (*see* above p. 136): the newest tribe to become a member of an Altaic nomadic confederation camps on the most forward perimeter (and hence most dangerous) of the tribal union's territory. This was hardly an honorary position (though Constantinus may have thought it so, thus he added the phrase about the courage and bravery of the Qabars) especially when viewed in the context of steppe tactics. The first line in a cavalry charge must take considerable losses.

As regards the name *Τοῦρκοι*, others aside from the Kök Türks themselves bore this name. Moravcsik notes that at one time or another the Kök Türks, the Khazars, the Hungarians, the Vardar Turks (Vardariotes), Seljuqs and Mamluks are called *Τοῦρκοι* by Byzantine authors.[423] Németh remarks that the Hungarians bore this name along with a number of others: "If we now consider the ancient names of the Hungarians, we observe the peculiar phenomenon that the Hungarians bear the names of almost all the peoples who ruled in the Kuban country from the fifth century on . . . The name of the Onoğurs remained among the Hungarians in the name *Οὖγγροι*, the name *Σάβαρτοι* is a memento of the name of the Sabirs and the name Türk of the Hungarians preserved the name of the Turks who ruled in the Kuban country . . . The four names of the Hungarians, *Οὖγγροι*, *Σάβαρτοι*, *Türk* and *Magyar* are the mementos of four political periods: *Οὖγγροι* of that period when the Hungarians belonged to the Onoğur tribal confederation, *Σάβαρτοι* [= Hung. **Savardi* = *Savar (Sabar-Sabır)* + Hung. ending *-di*; it can also be seen in the Armenian: *Sevordikʿ*, *Savordikʿ* and the Arab *Sāw.rdīa* and *S.yāw.rdī*[424] p. g.] preserves the memory of belonging to the Sabır tribal union, the name Türk came to the Hungarians as a result of joining the Türkic state, the name *Magyar* came to have significance when the *Magyar* tribe (together with its earlier and later additions) itself brought to life a politically independent tribal union and itself gave its name to a tribal union."[425]

As Németh makes so abundantly clear (although this process did not necessarily have to take place in the Kuban area), the Hungarians simply took the names of the ruling tribe of the confederations to which they belonged. It is, indeed, in this way that tribal names, Turkic and otherwise,

[423] Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, pp. 320–327. *See also* Marquart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 46–48.

[424] Németh, *HMK*, pp. 317–318.

[425] Németh, *HMK*, pp. 176–177.

are spread. In all likelihood, the Byzantines called the Hungarians *Τοῦρκοι* not only because the latter may have at one time belonged to the West Kök Türkic state but also because their way of life was similar to that of the Turks (similarly, Arab writers used the name *Turk* تُرك to designate all nomadic, Turkic-speaking peoples).

Finally, Pritsak's remark: "Die beiden Sprachen, die die Kāwar ihre ugrischen Konföderierten lehrten, waren demnach Chazarisch und Türkisch . . ." cannot be justified by our text. Constantinus writes: "And so to these Turks they (the Qabars) taught also the tongue of the Chazars, and to this day they have this same language, but they have also the other tongue of the Turks."[426], i.e. the Qabars taught the Hungarians their language (which is here explicitly called Khazar) and in turn learned the language of the Hungarians.

The greater part of Pritsak's article deals with problems of Hungarian proto-history and hence will not be discussed here. He does, however, add another interesting passage relating to Qabar history. This is taken from the unpublished work of the late Prof. A. Krymśkyi, an outstanding Ukrainian Turkologist. Briefly stated, it was Krymśkyi's view that the Qabars were partisans of the Khazar Qağan whose power having been gradually eroded by the *Bäk*, sought to reassert himself and lost.[427] The argument hinges on how one interprets the phrases *τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν* and *ἡ πρώτη ἀρχή αὐτῶν*. If one accepts *ἀρχή* as meaning here the government of the *Bäk*, then Krymśkyi's view would be valid. We have, however, no further data on the internal workings of Khazaria at this time. *Ἀρχή* may just as easily be taken to mean the government of the Qağan or the government of the Qağan and *Bäk* (by the ninth century, this latter supposition seems most likely, especially when viewed in light of Ibn Rusta's comments on the *Xāqān* and *Īšā*). I have omitted from this survey the somewhat fantastic theories of S. P. Tolstov (*Po sledam drevnexorezmiiskoi tsivilizatsii*, pp. 226ff.) which have been elaborated upon by H. Schönebaum ["Zur Kabarenfrage" in *Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten*, 5 (1957), esp. pp. 142–144].

[426] Pritsak, *op. cit.*, p. 383. — Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *DAI*, p. 174.
[427] Pritsak, *op. cit.*, pp. 390–391.

The name *Qabar* is found in Constantinus Porphyrogenitus[428] in the forms : *Κάβαροι* and *Καβάρων* (gen. pl.) [in the eleventh century Paris Manuscript (Bibliothèque Nationale MS 2009) : f. 112r, lines 13, 14 (Plate 1) ; 112v, lines 6, 17–18 (Plate 2) ; 113r, lines 1, 4, 8 (Plate 3)].

The name also figures in a Latin source[429] in the form : *Cowaris*. This form probably came from a Hungarian source (*cf.* Hungarian place names with *o* for *a: Kovár* in Hont and Nyitra counties and *Kovárc* in the Nyitra valley[430]). We may, perhaps, also see the ethnonym *Qabar* in the *Καβείροι*[431] who allegedly joined Thomas the Slav in his revolt (821–824) against the Byzantine emperor Michael II. The *Καβείροι*, however, appear in a list of the names of Thomas' allies as reported by Genesius and Theophanes Continuatus (Scylitzes–Cedrenus follows their accounts).[432] The list is a mixture of fact and fantasy (thus the Vandals who had disappeared long before this, are among those mentioned). In the list, the *Καβείροι* immediately follow the *Ἀβασίων* (the Abxaz or their kinsmen the Abazins), the *Ζηχῶν* (the Zixs or Jixs, a North Caucasian people[433] and the *Ἰβήρων* (Iberians, i.e. the Eastern Georgians) all inhabitants of the Caucasus, where Khazar power was also strong. Perhaps, the key to this problem is provided by the variant readings which give : *Σαβήροι, Σάβιροι, Σάβειροι* = Sabirs.[434] If the list is taken from some earlier source (its purpose being simply to show the multitude of peoples taking part in the revolt and not to be an accurate register of the nationalities of the rebels) then, the appearance of the *Καβείροι* or more probably *Σάβειροι* (who are better known and associated with the peoples of the Caucasus in Byzantine historiography) is quite understandable. This latter suggestion seems more probable especially

[428] Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *DAI*, ed. Moravcsik–Jenkins, p. 174 (Bonn ed. pp. 171–172).

[429] *See Annales ex annalibus iuvavensibus antiquis excerpti*, ed. H. Bresslau in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, scriptorum tomi XXX, pars II (Lipsiae 1834), p. 742 : s.a. 881 : " . . . Primum bellum cum Ungaris ad Weniam. Secundum bellum cum Cowaris ad Culmite."

[430] Németh, *HMK*, pp. 235–236.

[431] Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 144 ; Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie*, I, p. 287 ; Bury, *Hist. East. Roman Empire*, p. 89, n. 2.

[432] Genesius, *Regna*, ed. C. Lachmann (Bonnae, 1834), p. 33 ; Theophanes Continuatus, *Historiae*, ed. I. Bekker, (Bonnae, 1838), p. 55 ; Scylitzes–Cedrenus Bonn ed., II, p. 78.

[433] G. A. Melikišvili, *K istorii drevnei Gruzii* (Tbilisi, 1959), pp. 82, 89.

[434] Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, 262–263.

as the Georgian sources make no mention of their participation in these events.[435]

Pronunciation: *Κάβαροι* can render *Qabar* ~ *Qavar*, *Qobar* ~ *Qovar*.

Comments: Németh offers the following etymology: "If we should examine the original meaning of the Turkic name *Qabar* we will find, as Vámbéry already noted, that the original meaning of this name was "those who revolt," "rebel". Connected with this are the Ottoman, Noğay adjectives *qaba* 'thick', 'plump', 'stout', 'swollen' etc. Furthermore (there are) Ottoman *qabar* 'blister', 'boil', 'furuncle' originally meaning 'rising up', 'swelling up', Qazan, Čağatay etc. *qabar-* 'rise up', 'swell up', 'puff up', Ottoman *qabarjıq* (from *qabar*), 'boil', 'furuncle', 'blister' and finally, Uyğur, Čağatay etc. *qop-* also a verb meaning 'rise up', which, in Čağatay, also has the meaning 'arise', 'revolt'."[436]

Radloff (II/1, pp. 440–441) has *qabar-* Qrm., Qar.T., Osm., Čağ. 1. "sich erheben", "emporsteigen", "emporrichten" 2. "anschwellen", "dicht werden". Identical meanings are found in Medieval Qıpčaq (*see*, *At-Tuḥfat*, ed. Halasi-Kun, ff. 6r, 8r and *Kitāb al-Idrāk*, ed. Caferoğlu, p. 67). I think Németh is right in connecting *qaba*, *qabar* etc. with the root *qop-*; our difficulties, however, lie elsewhere. There are several formulations we might consider that are not necessarily limited to the suggestions set forth by Németh:

I. *Καβαρ* = aorist of 1. *qab-*, 2. *qap-*, 3. *qob-*, 4. *qop-*, 5. *qav/w-*, 6. *qov/w-?*

1. *qab-* exists only theoretically: **qab-* < Fact. *qawur-/qavur-*, *qawır-/qavır-* "drücken", "zusammenpassen", "žimat' ", "stiskivat' ", "sdavlivat' ", "sobirat' ", "svodit' "[437] Etymologies based on this root are highly speculative.

[435] Javaxišvili, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 93–96.

[436] Németh, *HMK*, p. 237. Németh (p. 237) then gives examples of *a–o* alternation in Turkic:

Uyg. *yabaš* "peaceful," "at rest". Osm. *yavaš* "peaceful", "quiet", slow".	Tar. *yobaš* "peaceful," "slow". Qač. *ʲyobaš* "friedfertig," "verträglich," "fromm," "sanft". Altay, Tel. *yoboš* idem.
Osm. *qavıq* "etwas Ausgehöhltes," "Leeres," "Blase"	Osm. *qovuq* "hohl," "ausgehöhlt," "Höhlung"

[437] *See*: Räsänen, *Versuch*, pp. 214–215 (*cf.* his suggestion: **qab-*, *qavıš-*, *qawrıš-*, *qawšat-* etc.) and the *DTS*, pp. 436–438.

2. *qap-* (presuming *qap-* > *qabar*, although *qap-* > *qapar* seems to be the the more usual aorist form); "xvatat' ", "zaxvatyvat' ", "poxiščat' ", "krast' ", "taskat' ", "odolevat' ", "napadat' " *DTS*, p. 420). Räsänen (*Versuch*, p. 233) notes: mtü. *kap* "angreifen", "packen", "stehlen"; čag. otü. usw. *kap* "fassen", "packen" "schnappen . . ."; čuv. *xĭp* "schnappen . . ." (> ung. *kap*); koib. *kabar* "fangen", "ergreifen . . ."; **kāp:* uig. *kap* "bedecken", "zuschlagen", "zumachen", "beendingen"; čuv. *xup* "einsperren", einschliessen"; osm. krm. *kapa;* uig. *kapak* "Deckel". Menges ("Etymological Notes on Some Päčänäg Names" *Byzantion* 17, pp. 273–4) notes this etymology. He relates the Avar title *Capcanus* to this root. His other suggestion *qabar* (Azer. "variegated", "having the traces of small-pox") is less appealing.

Καβαϱ could, then, conceivably be etymologized as "those who attack, the Attackers" etc.

3. *qob-:* not attested.

4. *qop-* "podnimat'sia", "vozvyšat'sia", vozveličivat'sia", "vstavat' " etc. [*DTS*, pp. 456–457; Räsänen, *Versuch*, p. 281: "sich erheben", "aufstehen", "auferstehen" etc. *cf.* the factitive form in Quman: *qobar-*, *qopar-* "aufbauen", "edificare" (Grønbech, *Kom.Wb.*, p. 197)].

Byzantine sources frequently write *α* for *o: cf. Ζαλτᾶς* = *Zoltan*, *Κουϱπαγᾶς* = *Qur-boğa* (*see* Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II. p. 31). Thus, *Καβαϱ* can be derived from *qop- (qopar, qobar)* "those who rise up, revolt".

It can be argued that such an etymology is impossible because we have the attested form يوار *Yubar* which must surely go back to an original *qābar* following the pattern:

Common Turkic	*Čuvaš*
**qāl-* "remain"	= *yul-*
**qān* "blood"	= *yun*
**qār* "snow"	= *yur.*

This rule, however, does not always operate. In fact, the Čuvaš equivalent of **qābar-* is *xăpar- (Čuvašsko–russk. slov.*, p. 490; Paasonen, Tschuw. Wörterv., p. 42: *xəʙar-)*. Thus, we are not compelled to connect يوار with **Qābar/Qabar.*

5–6. *qav-* (a variant of *qay-* "povoračivat'sia", "obraščat'sia", "sklonjat'sia", "priderživat'sia") and *qov-* ("gnat' ", "prognat' ", "presledovat' " *see: DTS*, pp. 406, 436, 461) are found in later sources.

II. If *Καβαϱ* is to be derived from *qabar- (see* above), it could only be an ethnonym based on the imperative form of the verb. There are no analogies for this in the Turkic world.

III. Thus, we have a variety of possible etymologies for *Καβαϱ*. In my view, the most likely is *Καβαϱ = Qopar/Qobar (< qop-)* "those who rise up", "the rebels"; for this fits the actual events of their history.

3. QARA Q'AZAR

Iṣṭaxrī in his long notice on the Khazars speaks of two "classes" of Khazars: "The Khazars do not resemble the Turks. They are black haired, and are of two kinds, one called Qara-Khazars, who are swarthy verging to deep black, as if they were a kind of Indians, and a white kind, who are strikingly handsome . . ."[438] Ibn Ḥawqal and Yāqūt repeat variations of Iṣṭaxrī's notice.

The Qara Khazars ("Black Khazars") probably represented a political grouping rather than a separate ethnic body. Iṣṭaxrī, who never visited the land of the Khazars, may simply have interpreted the word *qara* as he heard it or read it from his sources in a racial sense when its significance was political. We know from the Kök Türkic inscriptions that the term *qara budun* (lit. "black people") referred to the "masses", "the people at large" i.e. those who were not members of the nobility *(bäglär)*. Qara Khazar would, thus, refer to the Khazar masses.

Sources

Iṣṭaxrī

MSS: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS 6032, f. 94r, line 4: *Qarā Xazar* قرا خزر (Plate 4). The Leiden MS omits this passage.

The printed edition, Iṣṭaxrī, ed. de Goeje, p. 223, offers the following: قرا خزر *(Qarā Xazar)*; قرا جور *(Qarā J̌wr)*; قری خزر *(Qry Xazar)*.

Ibn Ḥawqal

MSS: 1. Leiden, Rijksuniversiteit Bibliotheek OR 314, p. 145, line 21: *Qarā Xazar* (Plate 5)

2. Istanbul, Topkapı, III Ahmet Ktph. 3346, f. 108r, line 10: *Qarā Xazar* (Plate 6)

[438] *See* Dunlop, *op. cit.*, p. 96; Iṣṭaxrī, ed. de Goeje, p. 223.

Both printed editions (de Goeje, p. 283, Kramers, II, p. 394) have : *Qarā Xazar*.

Yāqūt

MSS : 1. Oxford, Bodleian, Marsh 132, f. 48r, line 18 : *Qarā Xazar* (Plate 7)
2. British Museum 16,649, f. 385r, line 9 : *Qarā Ḥzr* = **Qarā Xazar* (Plate 8)
3. British Museum 23,371, f. 144v, line 2 : *Qarā Xazar* (Plate 9)
4. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 2228, f. 106r, last line : *Qarā Xazar* (Plate 10)
5. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 6601, f. 126v, line 13 : *Qarā Xazar* (Plate 11)
6. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek 6040, f. 75v, line 23 : *Qarā Xazar* (Plate 12)
7. Istanbul, Topkapı, III Ahmet Ktph. 2715,[4] f. 77v, line 14 : *Qarā Xazar* (Plate 13)
8. Istanbul, Köprülü Ktph. 1163, f. 69v, line 18 : *Qarā Xazar* (Plate 14)

The printed edition (Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, II, p. 438) gives : *Qarā Xazar*. The form is clearly : *Qara Qʿazar*.

Comments: Qara (Radloff II/1, p. 132ff.) All dialects "schwarz".

4. BARSIL–BERZILIA

The question of North Caucasian Khazar place names is an extremely complex one. The probability that we may be dealing with several linguistic layers (ultimately going back to Palaeo-Caucasian forms) is quite likely. Some of these toponyms serve as both place names or territorial names and tribal names. *Barsil–Berzilia* is just such a case. Our sources contain two distinct accounts regarding this toponym. The earlier of the two relates to the North Caucasus, the later to the Volga area. Theophanes and Michael Syrus connect *Barsil–Berzilia* with the very early stages of Khazar history. The Byzantine chronicler reports : "The great nation of the Khazars came out of the inner depths of Berzilia in Sarmatia Prima . . ."[439] Michael Syrus, following some earlier Byzantino–Syriac tradition writes that the eponymous ancestor of the Khazars came together with his brother (a third brother, Bulgarios, broke off from the other two to establish himself in the

[439] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, I, p. 358 ; Nicephorus Patriarcha, *Breviarium* (Bonn. ed.), p. 34 has essentially the same account.

Pontic steppe and later in Moesia as an ally of the emperor Mauricius) to the land of the Ālān "which is called Barsāliā."[440] Theophylactus Simocatta mentions a North Caucasian Hunnic people *Barselt*. The Armenian sources (*the Armenian Geography* and the *History* ascribed to Movsēs Xorenacʿi and Movsēs Dasxurancʿi) also place the "Basiłkʿ" – "Barsiłkʿ" in the North Caucasus. Balādhurī (followed by Qudāma) relates a notice on *Berzilia* (here called Baršalīya or Barsalīya) in the North Caucasus. It was at this site that Anušarwān and the Qağan of the Turks met for a summit conference.[441]

The Islamic authors, Ibn Rusta, and the anonymous compiler of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* (both sharing a common source) place the Barṣūlā on the middle Volga where they appear as part of the Bulğar confederation of tribes.[442] The letter of the Qağan Joseph mentions a people called *Biz.l* (**Br . z . l*) among the descendants, along with Xazar, of Togarma.[443]

The appearance of the Barsil–Barṣūlā in both the North Caucasus and the Volga is not to be puzzled at. As we shall see below, when discussing the Khazar place name *Balanjar*, the latter also appears in both these areas, and the Balanjar (called Baranjār in Ibn Faḍlān) were also part of the Bulğar tribal union. This shifting or perhaps splitting up of peoples can easily be understood in the light of two important events described in Chapter One : (*i*) the formation of the Khazar state (which at its very inception was expansive and thereby caused the displacement of many tribes. It broke up Magna Bulğaria sending Bulğars to the Danubian area and up the Volga); (*ii*) the Arab–Khazar wars in the North Caucasus (and in particular the 737 expedition of Marwān which briefly weakened the hold of the Khazars on the North Caucasus and saw Arab forces penetrating deep into the steppelands around the Volga).

The Barsil–Barṣūlā may have spread to yet another area. Idrisī mentions a town in the land of the Rūs called Barizūla (برزوله) on the upper Dnepr (دنابرس).[444]

Minorsky connects Bersilia–Baršalīya with *Waršan* of Joseph's letter,[445] *Varačʿan* (*see* below) and *W . r . thān* of Yāʿqūbī[446] where Maslama met the

[440] Marquart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 484–485.

[441] Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, p. 195 ; Hitti, *Origins*, p. 307. Qudāma ibn Jaʿfar, *Kitāb al-Xarāj*, ed. M. de Goeje, *BGA* VI, p. 260.

[442] Ibn Rusta, ed. de Goeje, p. 141 ; Xvol'son, *Izvestiia ibn Dasta*, p. 22 ; Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, p. 162.

[443] Kokovtsov, *op. cit.*, pp. 74–75.

[444] *Géographie d'Édrisi*, trans. A. Jaubert (Paris, 1840), II, pp. 397–398.

[445] Kokovtsov, *op. cit.*, pp. 85–86.

[446] Yāʿqūbī, *Taʾrīx*, ed. Houtsma, pp. 380–382.

Khazar king c. 733–734. *W. r. thān* (ورثان) in Minorsky's opinion, is "a definite confusion with the name of the town on the Araxes,[447] whereas the name of the town in Daghestan should be restored as ورثان *Warašān* = *Varačan." This, in turn, he identifies with the village Bašlı/Baršli (*Barašli) "on the Humri river which flows north of the Boghan (Buam) considered as the center of the Qaytaq territory."[448] As we have already seen the Qaytaq lands were part of the Khazar state.

In contradistinction to the above, Ašmarin identifies the Volga *Barsula* with the river Bersula, a tributary of the Kama "which flows into the latter a little above the city of Čistopol'." He considers the identification of the Barsula with Berzilia a "false interpretation."[449] With regard to Barsula-Bersula, I think we can say that Ašmarin has put the cart before the horse. The Bersula undoubtedly takes its name from the Barsula tribe living in the region. Ašmarin's objections have not, in my view, shaken the identification of the Volga Barsula with the Berzilia of the North Caucasus.

Possible *Βερζιλία* ~ برصول affiliations with other, later Turkic tribes are discussed by Togan (*see* A. Z. V. Togan, *Umumī Türk tarihine giriş*, I, pp. 172–3.)

Sources

Theophanes, *Chronographia*

I, p. 358 : *Βερζιλίας, Βερζηλίας, Βερήλιας, Βερζίλιας, Βερυλίας*

MSS : 1. Oxford, Christ Church 5, f. 236v, line 24 : *βερζήλιας*, (Plate 15)
2. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 1710, f. 293r, line 8 : *βερζήλιας* (Plate 16)

Nicephorus Patriarcha, *Breviarium*

Bonn ed., p. 34 : *Βερσιλίας, Βερσιλίας, Βερυλίας*

MSS : 1. British Museum Add. 19, 390, f. 44r, line 27: *Βερσιλίας* (Plate 17)
2. Vatican 977, f. 195v, line 15 : *Βερυλίας* (Plate 18)

[447] Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 206, 209 ; Hitti, *Origins*, pp. 323, 324, 328 ; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (reprint : London, 1966), pp. 176–177, 230.

[448] Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān*, pp. 94–95.

[449] Ašmarin, *Bolgary i Čuvaši*, p. 106. Czeglédy (*Nomád népek*, p. 97) believes that the Barsil were of Oğur origin.

Theophylactus Simocatta, *Historia*

Bonn ed., p. 258 : *Σαρσήλτ* (*See* Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 89: *Βαρσήλτ*)

MS : Vatican 977, f. 151r, line 15 : *Βαρσήλτ* (Plate 19)

Ibn Rusta

ed. de Goeje, p. 141 : برصولا (Barṣūlā).

MS : British Museum Add. 23,378, f. 162r, line 9 : برصولا *(Barṣūlā)* (Plate 20)

Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*

ed. de Goeje, p. 195 : البَرْشَلِيَه *(al-Baršalīyah)*, البرسليه *(al-Barsalīyah)*

MSS : 1. British Museum Add. 23,264, f. 44v, last line : *al-Barsalīyah* (Plate 21)

2. Leiden, Rijksuniversiteit Bibliotheek OR 430, f. 113v (p. 228), line 14 : *al-Barsalīyah* (Plate 22)

Qudāma, *Kitāb al-Xarāj*

ed. de Goeje, p. 260 : emended to : *al-Baršalīyah*

Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam

Xudūd al-ʿĀlam, rukopiś Tumanskogo, f. 38b, line 14 : *ʔ ṣūlā* (Plate 23)

History of Armenia ascribed to Movsēs Xorenacʿi [Moïse de Khorène, *Histoire d'Arménie*] ed. trans. P. E. Le Vaillant de Florival, I, p. 304 (text)] *Բասլաց (Baslacʿ)*

The Armenian Geography

ed. Soukry (text), p. 26 : *Բասլաց (Baslacʿ)* which Marquart (*Streifzüge*, p. 58) emends to *Բարսղաց (Barsłacʿ)*.

Movsēs Dasxurancʿi

ed. Emin, pp. 20, 137 : *Basłacʿ*, *Barsłacʿ*

MS : British Museum OR 5261, f. 10r, line 18: *Barslacʿ* (Plate 24) ; f. 21r, last line : *Barslacʿ* (Plate 25)

Letter of Qağan Joseph

Kokovtsov, *Op. cit.*, p. 20 : ביזל *(Bīz . l* = *Br . z. l ?)*

MS : Oxford, Christ Church 193, f. 16r, line 24 : *Bīz . l* (Plate 26)

De Goeje's preference for *Baršalīyah* is not necessarily supported by the forms found in the manuscripts of Balādhurī (which can be read as both

Barsalīyah and *Baršalīyah*. Arabic manuscripts frequently confuse ـ and ـ) or those found in our other sources. The Arabic ـ *(ṣ)* and the Byzantine ζ could render č (which is often represented in Arabic transliterations by ـ) but this appears very doubtful in light of the Armenian forms which show only ـ *(s)*. The elements *Bars(z).l* are constant.

Comments: A convincing etymology of this word does not exist. Marquart attempted to connect it with the word *βερζίτικον* (according to Moravcsik: "barbarischer (bulgarischer?) Name einer Art Fisch, der in der Gegend der Maiotis gefangen wird"[450]). He hypothesizes: Lapp. *morššа* ("walrus") = Russ. *morž* Bulğaric *μουρζοῦλιν* or *βερζήτικον, βερτζήτικον*, Osm. *mersin/mürsin* [*mersin balığı* "sturgeon" p. g.] Mod. Greek *μερσίνι* "sturgeon". Marquart concludes that this tribe was named after the sturgeon because it was famous for catching this fish!

Other possibilities are Turkic: **Bars-ili* (the land of the Bars tribe) or perhaps *Barčul* = Borčol-Borčul-Burčoğlu, Burčeviči (= Qıpčaq tribal names).[451]

I find, however, none of these particularly compelling. It is more probable that we are dealing with a name of Palaeo-Caucasian origin which was perhaps Turkicized in pronunciation but whose original meaning has been lost.

Personal Names and Titles

5. AŁPʿ IŁUTʿUĒR

The name of this Khazar chieftain is found in *The History of the Caucasian Albanians* ascribed to Movsēs Dasxuranc'i. Ałpʿiłutʿuēr is presented as a vassal of the Khazar Qağan and chieftain of the North Caucasian Huns in the late seventh century. The passages in which his name figures deal with the mission of the bishop Israyēl (an Armenian) who, according to our source, converted the North Caucasian Huns to Christianity.[452] There is no way of determining whether Ałpʿ iłutʿuer was ethnically a Khazar or not. In the Western Kök Türkic system of governing (which the Khazars followed), it was not uncommon for subject tribes to be given rulers from the royal

[450] Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 89; J. Marquart, "Ein arabischer Bericht über die Arktischen Länder aus dem 10 Jh." *UJb*, IV (1924), p. 328.

[451] L. Rásonyi, "Türk özel adlarının kaynakları" *Türkoloji Dergisi*, I (1964), p. 72. *Cf.* also the suggestions of Togan, "Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht", pp. 156–157.

[452] Dasxuranc'i, *History*, trans. Dowsett, pp. 153–169.

dynasty. Many tribes, however, were allowed to retain their own leaders. This was particularly true of tribes that had freely joined the tribal federation founded by the royal tribe.[453]

Sources

Movsēs Dasxuranc'i, *Patmut'iwn Ałuanic'*

MS: British Museum OR 5261, f. 69v, line 19: ԻլիՓուէր *(ilit'uēr)* (Plate 27); f. 164v, lines 6–7: ալփիլիՓուէր *(Alp' ilit'uēr)* (Plate 28); f. 176v, line 12: ալփիլուՓուէր *(Alp' ilut'uēr)* (Plate 29); f. 177v, line 4: ԼիՓուէր *(?lit'uēr)* (Plate 30); f. 183r, line 4: ԻլուՓուէր *(ilut'uēr)* (Plate 31); f. 185v, line 10: *ilit'uēr* (Plate 32); f. 186v, lines 7–8: *ilit'uēr* (Plate 33)

Emin's edition offers the following: *Alp' ilut'uer* (p. 281), *Ilut'uer* (p. 289), var.: *Alut'uer; Ilut'uer* (pp. 291, 293, 295), *Ilit'uēr* (p. 297)

Emin (p. 282) missed the form *ilit'uer* which appears on p. 160 of Dowsett's translation.

Marquart (in the *Streifzüge*) gives the following forms: *Albiwli t'uel, Albilu T'uēl, Ilu T'uēl* (p. 114), which he amends to: *Alp' ilut'uer.*

Dowsett (pp. 150, 160, 164–168) gives the following forms in Latin letters: Alpilit'uer, Ałpiwli T'uer, Alp' ilit'uver, Ałp' iwle t'uer, Ałp' iwlē t'uer, Ałp' iwl t'uel, Ałbiwli T'uel, Ałtiwli t'uel, Ałteli t'uer.

Pronunciation: The form as we have it here might reflect an Oğuric pronunciation as can be seen in Ibn Faḍlān's يلطوار *(*yılṭavār)*[454] which Czeglédy suggests[455] should be read as *yiltavār*. There is no indication of an Oğuric *y* (*cf.* Common Turkic *el* ~ *il* = Čuv. *yal*, but *see also* Qaračay *el* ~ *yel*[456]) in the forms given above. The form *t'uēr (t'war = täbär)* can, perhaps, be viewed as Oğuric (Čuvaš middle and final *v* correspond to Com. Turk. *b*,[457] Čuv. *ivăs/ivśa/uśa* = Com. Turk. **abuč* "handful", Čuv. *šĕvĕr* = Com. Turk. **sibirig-* "sharp-pointed", but see Osm. *avuç, sivri*), the strongest evidence

[453] Pritsak, "Stammesnamen und Titulaturen der Altaischen Völker" *UAJb*, XXIV, (1952), p. 53.

[454] *See Ibn Faḍlān*, ed. trans. Kovalevskii, p. 344 (= Mašhad MS. f. 197r, line 2) where we find instead of *y-* an initial *b-*.

[455] K. Czeglédy, "Egy bolgár–török *yiltavār* méltóságnév" *MNy*, XL (1944), pp. 182–186.

[456] W. Pröhle, "Karatschajisches Wörterverzeichnis" *KSz*, X (1909), p. 101, *cf.* also *Ímek-Yimek*, a Qıpčaq tribal name.

[457] Benzing, "Das Tschuwaschische" *PhTF*, I, p. 713.

being that at this time only Oğuric appears (*see* Ibn Faḍlān above) to have the form *tavar* the rest having *täbär*. Everywhere in the Armenian forms cited here, we have *it'uēr* (compare this with *Xat'irlit'ber* = ***Qaðır il täbär*** of Łewond). The name may be read as *Alp il tewär/tıwar* (?). The form best known in Turkic is *Alp il/el täbär* of which we have a slightly garbled form here.

Comments: Alp (Radloff, I/1, p. 430, Osm., Uyğ., Čağ. "Held.") This is a name much in use in Turkic personal names and titles.[458] The Türk inscriptions have: *Alp, Alp Šalčı, Alp Uruňu, Alp Uruňu Tutuq.*[459] *āl/el/il*: (Radloff, I/1, pp. 803–804, Tar., Alt., Tel., Leb., Qrm., Qom., Tob., Az., Osm., Čağ., Uyğ., Qar. L-T.) (1) Uyğ., Čağ. "der Friede", "die Eintracht" (Caferoğlu, *Uygur sözlüğü*, p. 67: (*i*) "memleket", "il" (*ii*) "devlet" (*iii*) "hükümdar"); (2) Osm., Qrm. "das Geschlecht", "die Familie", "die Bewohner eines Ortes", "Gemeinde (ursprünglich wohl: die in Gemeinschaft nomadisierenden, die in Friede mit einander leben"); (3) Uyğ., Čağ., Tel., Az. "das Volk" (4) Osm. "die Gegend", "das Gebiet"; (5) Alt., Tel., Leb. "das eigene Volk", "das eigene Geschlecht"; (6) Osm., Qrm. "die Leute der Gemeinde im Gegensatz zur eigenen Familie"; (7) "die Leute überhaupt". *El*: Qır., QQır., Sağ., Qoyb., Kč. (1) "der Friede", "die Eintracht"; (2) Qır., QQır. "Geschlecht", "Volksabteilung"; (3) "das Volk", "die Leute". *Täbär:* Orkun[460] has: "vali", "idare amiri". Barthold, in his *Zwölf Vorlesungen*[461] notes that: "Das Volk mit einem Eltebir (*sic*) an der Spitze (Eltebirlik budun) unterschied sich nur als weniger bedeutend von einem Volke mit einem Qagan an der Spitze (Qaganlyq budun)." This definition accurately applies to the relationship between the Khazars (in this case: the *Qağanlıq budun*) and the North Caucasian Huns. Kliaštornyi remarks that Täbär was a "title which tribal leaders usually have".[462] Rásonyi states that "mağlup kavimlerin başına da kağan bir hükümdar yāni il teber (il basan) birakmıştır."[463]

[458] Houtsma, *TAG*, p. 29.

[459] Orkun, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 151. For the wide repansion of this word among non-Turkic peoples *see* G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen* II (Wiesbaden, 1965)., pp. 110–111 where he cites its appearance in Mongol, Ostyak, Samoyed, Vogul and Ket as a Turkic loanword.

[460] Orkun, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 48.

[461] Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen*, p. 38.

[462] Kliaštornyi, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

[463] Rásonyi, *DTT*, p. 92 ("the Qağan left a ruler, i. e. an il teber "one who steps on the *il*" at the head of conquered tribes"). Z. V. Togan (see Togan, "Ibn Faḍlān's

Rásonyi suggests that the root of the word *täbär* is probably Turk. *täp-*. Mong. *tegeg* < **teweg* < **tepēk* "Gras unter dem Schnee", *tege-* < **tewē-* **tepē-* "mit den Füssen scharren", "Gras unter dem Schnee hervorscharren" Kalm. *tē-* "id." = Yaq. *täp-* "ausschlagen, mit dem Fuss stossen" Az. *täpik* "Fusstritt", "Stoss mit dem Fuss."[464] *Täp-* (Radloff, III/1, pp. 1108–1109, Osm., Čağ., Alt., Tel., Šor., Tar., Küär.) "mit den Füssen stossen", "stampfen", "dreschen", "treten", "ausschlagen", "sich mit den Füssen gegen etwas stämmen". Caferoğlu (*Uyg. sözl.* p. 234) has: *täp-* "vurmak". Kāšğarī[465] gives *tepdi* "he kicked . . . with his foot". The Mamluk Qıpčaq dialects present the following: *Kitāb al Idrāk* (ed. Caferoğlu, p. 102): *täpti-* "ayağiyle vurdu" *Tarjumān* (Houtsma, *TAG*, p. 66) *täp-* "mit den Füssen stossen". *At-Tuḥfat* (ed. Halasi-Kun, f. 17r; ed. trans. Atalay, p. 255): *rafasa – täpti; tep – tepmek*. The Modern Turkish meaning of *tepmek* is (*i*) "kick", "spurn"; (*ii*) "recoil", "recur (illness)".[466]

The name *Alp el täbär/Alpᶜ iłutᶜuer* should be compared with the Turkic names: *Alp el etmiš* (an eighth century Uyğur Xan), *Elteriš* (Kök Türkic Qağan), *İl Almıš Sängün* (an Uyğur personal name), *İl Tutmıš* (an Uyğur Xan) and *İl Qatmıs* (an Uyğur personal name).

6. ALPᶜ TᶜARXAN

Alpᶜ Tᶜarxan is mentioned as a Khazar general in command of reinforcements coming to the Khazar Qağan to face the Arab army of Maslamah during the latter's drive into North Caucasian Hunnic territory in c. 716 (*see* above, p. 62). We are not informed by our source from whence Alpᶜ Tᶜarxan and his army were coming. It is very possible that he commanded Khazar troops in the lower Volga delta near Atıl/İtil.

Reisebericht," p. 105) writes: "Elteber findet sich als Titel des Vassalen der Grossqagane bei den Az (d. h. azgiš am Ili) der Orchon Inschriften, bei den Uiguren und in den chinesischen Quellen als Fürstentitel der Uiguren, Kirgizen und Weisshunnen–Ephthaliten am Helmand-Tal in den Formen *si-li-fa* oder *Ki-li-fat*. Der Titel *elteber* wurde zur Zeit der Kök Türken anscheinend den Erbherrschern einzelner Völker verliehen, während die persönlich ernannten Gouverneure den Titel *buyruq* 'Bevollmächtigten' trugen." Doerfer (*TMEN*, II, p. 203) considers *ältäbär* to be of Žuan-Žuan origin.

[464] Poppe, *Vergleichende Grammatik*, I, p. 104.

[465] Kāšğarī, *Dīvān*, ed. Atalay, p. 265: *ol qulın tepdi* "he kicked the slave with his foot".

[466] New Redhouse, *Turkish–English Dictionary*, p. 1143.

Sources

The name appears in only one source, the eighth century Armenian historian Łewond.

MS: Matenadaran 1902, f. 31v, line 3: ալփ թարխան (Alpʿ Tʿarxan) (Plate 34)

Emin's edition (p. 41) gives the same.

Pronunciation: clearly *Alpʿ Tʿarxan*. The spelling of *Alpʿ* differs somewhat from some of the forms we find of the name *Alpʿ/Alpʿ ił utʿuer* in Movsēs Dasxurancʿi (*see* above). The *ղ* (ł = modern *ğ*) is thought to have been a palatalized *l'* (the *ль* of Russian) and hence less correct in terms of Turkic phonetics. The *l* we have in Alpʿ Tʿarxan is thus the better transcription of the "hard" *l* of Alp.

Comments: Alp (Radloff, I/1, p. 430, Osm., Uyğ., Čağ.) "Held". *Tarxan-Tarqan* is a well-known Turkic title (*see Tarqan* of this list).

7. AS TARXAN

Ṭabarī, for the year A. H. 147/764–65, writes: "It belongs to the events of this year that the Xwarezmian Āstarxan with Turkish troops attacked the Moslems in Armenia and took a great number of prisoners . . . Tiflis was also invaded by them."[467] Czeglédy suggests that the Turks mentioned by Ṭabarī are actually Kök Türks and not Khazars. This is part of his theory that the Kök Türks remained in Atıl/Itil up to 766. We know from Łewond and Yaʿqūbī, however, that a Khazar raid led by *Rās Tarxān* (Yaʿqūbī)/*Raž Tʿarxan* (Łewond) took place at this time.[468] Czeglédy argues that Łewond does not distinguish between Kök Türks and Khazars but does differentiate between Khazars and North Caucasian Huns (Czeglédy considers *Xatʿirlitʿber*, the overlord of *Raž Tʿarxan* in Łewond's account, to be the leader of the North Caucasian Huns evidently because the latter were ruled by an *el-täbär*[469] and this title may be seen in the name *Xatʿirlitʿber*.[470] This argu-

[467] Czeglédy, "Khazar Raids" *AOH*, XI (1960), p. 83; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, III, p. 328.

[468] Łewond, *Patmutʿiwn*, ed. Ezeancʿ, p. 132; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīx*, ed. Houtsma, II, p. 446.

[469] *See* Alp Iutʿuer of Movsēs Dasxurancʿi (above).

[470] Czeglédy, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

ment is untenable because the title *el-tābār* is widely repanded amongst the Turkic peoples and may be given to any vassal of the Qağan). The appearance of the name *Turk* in Ṭabarī's account does not necessarily mean that the Kök Türks are actually meant here. Ṭabarī may have used the word *Turk* in its generic sense. Moreover, the name Turk was frequently borne by peoples who had at one time been part of the Kök Türk empire (thus the Hungarians are usually called *Τοῦρκοι* in the Byzantine sources.[471] Theophanes calls the Khazars *Τοῦρκοι ἐκ τῆς ἑῴας οὓς Χάζαρεις ὀνομάζουσιν...*[472]). It is thus quite possible that the Khazars appear in Ṭabarī's account, in this instance, under the name *Turk*.

Comments: Further problems may be seen in the names : *Ās Tarxān – Rās Ṭarxān/Ṙaž Tʿarxan*. They are suspiciously alike. *Ās* is an ethnonym (*Ās* = the Alans, the *As/Ias* of the Russian Chronicles and the *Owsi* of the Georgian *Kʿartʿlis Cʿxovreba* = the *Ossetes* of the North Caucasus of today) designating an Iranian tribe. Elements of the Ās who remained in the steppe were incorporated into certain Turkic groupings. This may be seen perhaps in the tribal name *Tört As* of the present day Altay Turks.[473] The Alans (As) of the North Caucasus were, it seems, never completely a part of the Khazar Qağanate (and could even be a definite threat to it)[474] but other As tribes in the Caspian steppes probably fell under the sway of the Khazars. *Ās Tarxān* would thus mean the Khazar Tarxan of these As. The *Rās/Ṙaž Tarxan* of Yaʿqūbī and Łewond should be identified with Āstarxān (it is obvious, however, that Ṭabarī used a source different from that of Yaʿqūbī and Łewond). Minorsky offers a solution to the problem. He notes that the al-Lārisiya (the Iranian Muslim guards of the Khazar Qağan mentioned in Masʿūdī[475]) should be connected with the Arsiya, Arīsia who are "most

[471] Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 321.

[472] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, I, p. 315.

[473] Baskakov, *Altaiskii iazyk*, p. 28. It is difficult to determine, in this instance, whether the As of the Altay Turks are indeed descendants of the Iranian As or the remnants of the Az, a non-Turkic, non-Iranian (perhaps of Tangut, Tibetan or Palaeo-Siberian origin) people. *See* Ligeti, *Az ismeretlen Belső-Ázsia*, p. 325 ; Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen*, p. 37 (both Ligeti and Barthold opt for a non-Iranian origin) and Giraud *L'empire des Turcs célestes*, pp. 193–196. *See* also Gumilëv's discussion (Gumilëv, *Drevnie tiurki*, p. 259). L. R. Kyzlasov [*Istoriia Tuvy v srednie veka* (Moskva, 1969), pp. 50–51] suggests that the Az of the Türgeš confederation were turkicized by the 5th century.

[474] Bury, *History of the Eastern Roman Empire*, pp. 408–409 ; Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *DAI*, (Bonn ed.), p. 80.

[475] Masʿūdī *Murūj*, II, p. 10.

probably the Alans who were living beyond the Caspian south of the Aral sea. *Arsiya sounds very much like the ancient Aorsi (in Chinese Yen-ts'ai). In Persian the name Aorsi became Ās . . . According to the history of the later Han, *Hou Han Shu* (tenth century). Ch. 118, 17b, the name Yen-ts'ai had been changed to A-lan-ya (*Alan, i.e. Aryan). Thus the identity of Aorsi and Alan is established . . . A trace of the earlier *r* in the name of the As is found in the inverted order in the title of the Khazar general Rastarxan."[476] Confirmation of the fact that it is the Trans-Caspian (i.e. the area stretching from the northern perimeter of the Caspian Sea to the Aral Sea) Ās with which we are dealing can be seen in the *nīsbah al-Xwārizmī*, "the Xwārizmian" Ṭabarī gives to *Āstarxān*. Bīrūnī's *Taḥdīd al-Amākin* speaks of the population of the steppelands between Xwārizm and Jurjān. He notes that its inhabitants had moved to the shores of the Caspian and that "they are a nation *(jins)* of the Allān and Ās. Their language is Alan composed of Xwārizmian and Pečeneg elements". This would indicate the presence, as Minorsky notes, of Ās east of the Caspian.[477]

Sources

Ṭabarī

MS: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek 9421, f. 154r, line 18: اشترخان *(Āštarxān ?*, *Ās Tarxān) (Plate 35)

Ṭabarī *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, III, p. 328: استرخان الخوارزمی *(Astarxān al-Xwārizmī)* var. Astirxān*

Yaʿqūbī

MSS: 1. Cambridge QQ10, f. 192r, line 29: راشرطرخان *(Rāš?/Rās Ṭarxān)* (Plate 36)

2. John Rylands Library, Manchester, Arabic 231 (801). f. 152r, line 4: *Rās Ṭarxān* (Plate 37)

Yaʿqūbi, *Taʾrīx*, ed. Houtsma, II, p. 446: *Rās Ṭarxān* (Beirut ed., II, p. 371: *Raʾs Ṭarxān*)

[476] Minorsky, *History of Sharvān*, p. 147, n. 1.

[477] *See* Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, p. 481, where the Arabic text of this passage from Bīrūnī is given.

* The recent Egyptian edition *(Taʾrīx aṭ-Ṭabarī*, ed. Muḥammad Abū'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, VIII, p. 7) has: *Istrxān*

Łewond

MS: Matenadaran 1902, f. 98v, line 9: *Ռաժ Թարխան (Ṙaž Tʿarxan)* (Plate 38)

Łewond, *Patmutʿiwn*, ed. Ezeancʿ), p. 132: *idem*

The Armenian form, however, is somewhat disturbing *Ռաժ (Ṙaž)* probably denotes an original **Raš*, **Araš*, **Arš* (*?*) whereas راس (*Rās*) apparently goes back to **Aras*, **Ars*. I do not know what lies behind the discrepancy between these two forms.

The present day Russian city of Astraxan may, as has been suggested, have its origin in the name *As Tarxan*.[478]

8. AWČʿI TʿARXAN

Awčʿi Tʿarxan is mentioned in the *History of the Caucasian Albanians* of Movsēs Dasxurancʿi. He is described as "a senior prince named Awčʿi, a soldier who held the rank of Tʿarxan".[479] Awčʿi was a subordinate of the North Caucasian Hunnic ruler, Alpʿ ilutʿuēr. The notice in Dasxurancʿi refers to the late seventh century (c. 683).

Sources

Movsēs Dasxurancʿi, *Patmutʿiwn Aluanicʿ*

MS: British Museum OR 5261, f. 185r, line 20: *աւչի Թարխան (Awčʿi Tʿarxan)* (Plate 39)

Movsēs Dasxurancʿi, *Patmutʿiwn*, ed. Emin, p. 294: *Awčʿi Tʿarxan.* Dowsett (p. 167) has: *Awčʿi* (= Awčʿi)

Comments: *Աւչի* = *Aučı* (Radloff, I/1, p. 81, Qaz.T., *Auji* (Uyğ.); *Awčı* (Radloff, I/1, p. 642, Qrm., Osm.) "der Jäger". There are other Khazar names ending in the *nomen agentis -či*: *Bälgiči*, *Boluščı*. Names ending in the *nomen agentis -či* are known to other Turkic peoples. Thus, among the Qıpčaq Mamluks we have *ätmäkči* "boulanger".[480] There is an eleventh

[478] Minorsky, *Hudūd*, p. 451; Vernadsky [G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia* (New Haven, 1943, 5th. ed., 1959), p. 214] accepts this derivation.

[479] Dasxurancʿi, *History*, trans. Dowsett, p. 167.

[480] J. Sauvaget, "Noms et surnoms de Mamelouks" *JA*, 238 (1950), p. 35.

century Xwārizmšāh named Äkinči ibn Qočqar.[481] թարխան *(T'arxan)* is the Turkic title *tarqan/tarxan*. As is well known, hunting played a great role in Turkic life as a sport, a source of food and a military training ground. In the various Turkic courts, many titles had their origin in or were otherwise associated with hunting.[482] It is unclear from our text whether *Awč'i* is a title or a personal name.

9. *BAGATUR

Around the year 760, the Caliph al-Manṣūr (754–775) in an attempt to avert possible Khazar incursions into the Arab holdings in Transcaucasia, ordered his governor of Armenia, Yazīd ibn ʿUsayd as-Sulamī to arrange a marriage alliance with the Khazar royal house. Yazīd succeeded in marrying a Khazar princess (her name is given only as *Xātūn*, a title). Her death a short time afterwards[483] served as a pretext for two Khazar raids in 762 and 764 on the Arab possessions in Transcaucasia. The events are reported in Łewond, Yaʿqūbī and Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī. It is only the latter, however, who reports the name of the Khazar Qağan (Yaʿqūbī mistakenly calls Rās Tarxān the "king of the Khazars"[484]) at the time of these events.

Sources

Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī, *Kitāb al-Futūḥ*

MS: Istanbul, Topkapı, III, Ahmet Ktph. 2956, II, f. 241v, line 13: تعاطر *(T'āṭ.r)* (Plate 40). This should be emended to: *بغاطر *(*Bağāṭur/Bağāṭır)*.

Comments: Bağatur is a very old loanword in Turkic. Doerfer, in his work on Turkic and Mongolian elements in Modern Persian, has a very detailed selection on the history and expansion of this word. He writes, in regard to its etymology: "Das Wort sieht aus, als ob es ein Suffix *-tur* beinhalte. Dieses ist als Nominalsuffix weder im Tü., noch im Mo., noch im Tu. belegt.

[481] *See Sharāf al-Zamān Tāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India*, ed. trans. V. Minorsky (London, 1942) (Arabic text) p. 18 (trans. p. 30) and ʿAwfī (cited in J. Marquart, *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*), p. 40.

[482] *Cf.* the Ottoman *Avcı başı* etc. *See also* Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, p. 400; B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, pp. 419–421.

[483] Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, p. 210; Hitti, *Origins*, pp. 328–329.

[484] Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīx*, ed. Houtsma, II, p. 446.

Es scheint also, dass das Wort, ähnlich wie *Xān – Xağan, Xātun – *Xağatun*, einer untergegangenen der Tü. in der Herrschaft über die Steppe, nämlich der Ruanruan [we have followed the spelling Žuan-žuan in this work p. g.], angehört. In dieser Sprache könnte das Wort **ba'atur* gelautet haben."[485]

The forms closest to **bağatur* are found in Kök Türkic: *bağatur* (in the personal name *Bağatur Čigši*; but *see also batur* "Held", "tapfer"[486]), Quman (Grønbech, *Kom. Wb.*, p. 47): *bağatur* "brav", "probus", *bahadur* "tapfer", "brav" and the Troki (Lith. Trakai) dialect of Qaraim (Radloff, IV/2, p. 1449): *bağatır* "Held". Čuvaš has[487] *pattər* "stark", "kräftig", "fest". Qazan Tatar, Qırğız, Türkmen, Üzbek (Xiva dialect) and Qrım Tatar all have (Radloff, IV/2, p. 1511): *batır/batur*. Hungarian has the loanword *bátor*. The Russian form, *bogatyr'*, according to Preobraženskii, was borrowed from Persian via Turkic and Mongolian.[488] This title was also known to the Danubian Bulğars in the form: *βαγατούρ*.[489] The king of the Alans, according to Ibn Rusta is called *bağātir*. This is confirmed by the *K'art'lis C'xovreba* where the *baqat'ur mt'avari ovsi* "Baqat'ur ruler of the As" is mentioned.[490]

10. BĀRǰĪK

During the Arab–Khazar wars of the first third of the eighth century, the Khazar armies are not infrequently led by the "son of the Qağan" whose name is given in a variety of garbled forms. Before drawing any conclusions as to what other prominent Khazars of this period *Bārǰīk* may or may not

[485] Doerfer, *TMEN*, II, p. 370. **Ba'atur*, according to Doerfer, produced both *bātur* and *bağatur* in Turkic, following the process seen also in the words (doublets) *xān/xağan*, *xātun/*xağatun*. Turkic will not tolerate groupings such as *a'a*. Either *a'a* becomes *ā* or it places a consonant between the two vowels *ağa* [*cf.* Ar. *sā'at* = Osm. *Saat* (pronounced: *sāt*), Bašk. *sağat*].

[486] Radloff, IV/2, p. 1515; Orkun, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 21; Modern Turkish follows this: *bahadır*, *batır*.

[487] Paasonen, *Tschuw. Wörterverzeichnis*, p. 95.

[488] A. G. Preobraženskii, *Etymological Dictionary of the Russian Language* (New York, 1951), p. 33. Doerfer (*TMEN*, p. 373) suggests that the Russian *bogatyr'* is a borrowing from Old Čuvaš **bağatur*.

[489] Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 83. *Cf. also Aloğobotur* a Bulgarian general c. 924 (Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *DAI*, ed. Moravcsik–Jenkins, p. 158). Moravcsik suggests (*Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 64) that this is a metathesized form of **Ala-bağatur*.

[490] Ibn Rusta, ed. de Goeje, p. 148 (*see also* Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān*, p. 169); *K'art'lis C'xovreba*, I, p. 261.

be identical with, we should first examine the various forms of the name. Our sources are Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī and Bal'amī. The former was long regarded as a mere teller of heroic tales, a reworker of stories with little to add. The latter was known chiefly as the Persian translator of Ṭabarī. Neither description does justice to our sources. Both authors, though heavily in debt to the more prominent historians and geographers of the Islamic world, often supplemented the latter with important details. Thus, Ṭabarī, reporting the same raids of the 720's and 730's never once gives the name of the Khazar leaders, Bal'amī and Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, however do provide us with this important information. Unfortunately, the names are more often than not given in a very garbled form.

Sources

We have three groups of sources for this name: Bal'amī, Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī and the Turkish translations of Ṭabarī.

Bal'amī, *Ta'rīx-i Ṭabarī*

MSS: 1. Oxford, Bodleian, Elliot 376, f. 341r, lines 21, 22: **Bārx . k* (Plate 41); f. 342r, lines 1, 26: **Bārx.k* (Plate 42); f. 342v, line 5: *Bārx.k* (Plate 43); f. 343r, lines 13, 16, 19: *Bārx . k* (Plate 44)

2. Oxford, Bodleian, Fraser 131, f. 511r, line 13: *Bārḥīk* (Plate 45); f. 511v, line 23: *Bārǰīk* (Plate 46); f. 512r, line 7: *Bārǰīk* (Plate 47); f. 513r, lines 20, 25: *Bārǰīk* (Plate 48); f. 514r, line 15: *Bārǰīk* (Plate 49)

3. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Pers. 63, f. 552, line 12: **Bārx . k* (Plate 50); f. 555, lines 3, 7: *Bārx.k* (Plate 51)

4. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Pers. Suppl. 162A, f. 208r, line 3: *ʔārḥ . l(k)*, line 4: *Bārḥ . l* (Plate 52); f. 209v, lines 1, 10: *ʔārḥ . l*, *ʔārx . l* (Plate 53); f. 210v, line 6: *Bārx.l*; lines 6, 10: *Bārxīl*; line 14: *Bāžxīl* (Plate 54); f. 211v, line 2: *Bārḥīl* (Plate 55)

5. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Pers. Suppl. 166, f. 643v, line 9: *ʔārḥ.k*; line 10: *Bāzǰ.nk* (Plate 56); f. 644v, line 12: **Barǰ . nk*/ **Bārxīk* (Plate 57); f. 647r, lines 5, 17: *Bārǰnk*; line 6: *Bārḥ . k* (Plate 58)

B. Dorn, "Nachrichten ueber die Chazaren" *Mémoires de l'Acad. SPb* VI[e] série, t. VI (1844): *Bārǰīk* (pp. 512, 517), *Bārḥ. k* (p. 512), *Bārḥīl* (pp. 522, 523), *Bārḥ b. k* (p. 522), *Bārḥīk* (p. 529)

Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī, *Kitāb al-Futūḥ*

MS: Istanbul, Topkapı, III, Ahmet 2956, II, f. 180r, line 3: *?(B)ārsīnk* (Plate 59); f. 182v, lines 5, 6: *Bārs.īk* (Plate 60); f. 183r, last line: *Bārs.īk* (Plate 61); f. 185r, line 4: بارسبيك *(Bārsbīk)*; line 15: *?ārs..k* (Plate 62); f. 185v, line 8: *Bārsnīk* (Plate 63); f. 187r, line 22: *Bārsnīk* (Plate 64); f. 187v, lines, 4, 14, 20: *Bārsnīk* (Plate 65); f. 188r, line 7: *?ārsnīk*; line 16: *Bārsnīk* (Plate 66); f. 188v, line 5: *Bārs.īk*; lines 9, 14: *Bārstīk* (Plate 67)

Turkish Ṭabarī *(Taʾrīx-i Ṭabarī)*

MSS: 1. London, British Museum Add. 7845, f. 337r, line 17: *Nārǰīlah* (Plate 68)

2. London, British Museum, Ms. Add. 18,888, f. 246v, line 8: *Xāqān oğlı Nāraǰīlah*; line 9: *Nāṛǰīk*; line 10: *Nārǰīlī/Nārǰīkī* (Plate 69)

3. London, British Museum Add. 7862, f. 402r, line 11: *Bārǰank* = **Bārǰäng?*; line 13: *Bārǰank* (Plate 70); f. 403r, line 9: *Bārǰank* (Plate 71)

The *Derbendnāme* has the forms: *Pāšenk* and *Pāš* h.[491]

The great variety of forms we find in our sources do not lend themselves to easy analysis. It would appear that the Balʿamī–Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī forms go back to a common source (the Turkish Ṭabarī being based, most probably, on Balʿamī). The first three letters *bār* are faithfully preserved in all our forms; it is in the latter three/four that our difficulties arise. The absence of or confusion in pointing makes our task even more complex. The Balʿamī manuscripts' forms apparently go back to an original the pointing of which for the last three letters is unclear. The Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī forms, however, appear to represent an original with difficulties in pointing in the last (four?) letters [*cf.* بارسبيك *(Bārsbīk)*, بارسنيك *(Bārsnīk)*, بارستيك *(Bārstīk)* etc.]. It is impossible to determine which, بارحلك or بارسسك, represents the original.

A. N. Kurat[492] has suggested that the Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī forms are garblings of *بارسبيك (*Bārsbīk* — which appears once: f. 185, line 4). This solution is particularly tempting as we seem to have confirmation of this

[491] *Derbend-Nāmeh*, ed. trans. A. Kazem-Beg (SPb., 1851), pp. 64, 72. *See also* the older: M. Klaproth, "Extrait de Derbend-Nāmeh, ou de l'Histoire de Derbend" *JA*, 2. série, 3 (1829), p. 453ff.

[492] A. K. Kurat, "Muhammad bin Aʿsam al-Kufī'nin *Kitāb al-Futūḥ'u*" *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih–Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, VII (1949), p. 265.

form in Łewond. In the latter's history we find *փարսբիտ (P'arsbit')* who is mentioned (at this same time, first third of the eighth century) as the mother of the Khazar Qağan.[493] Czeglédy has suggested that "mother" in the Armenian text (*մայր, mayr)* could be read as **հայր (hayr* "father"),[494] thus, in his view, settling problems regarding P'arsbit''s sex. Our sources, Bal'amī, Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, Theophanes (where we find *ὁ υἱὸς Χαγάνου*[495]), Movsēs Dasxuranc'i[496] and the Turkish Ṭabarī *xāqān oğlï* with the sole exception of Łewond call the Khazar military leader at this time "the son of the Qağan". The confusion of father and son in Łewond's account presents no real problem. Both may have borne the same name or P'arsbit' may well have been the son (of the Islamic, Byzantine and other Armenian sources), now elevated to the Qağanate (Łewond, in the sentence just before his comments on P'arsbit', states that the ruler of the Khazars, the *Xak'an*, had died). The Islamic and other sources became familiar with the "son of the Qağan" before his father's death (or were perhaps unaware of it) and thus continue to call him "the son of the Qağan."

Barsbik is a Turkic personal name (*see* the heading *P'arsbit'* of this chapter for details).

This is a very neat picture presented above but it does not take into account the very considerable philological difficulties we face in connecting *بارسبيك with بارحك, بارحك is either a corruption of بارسبيك or a different word. Given the historical circumstances (both are represented as being the "son of the Qağan" operating in the same areas at the same time), the latter possibility does not appear very likely. Yet, this does not mean that the first proposition is absolutely certain.

بارحك of Bal'amī and the Turkish Ṭabarī may perhaps be *بارجنك *(*Barčäng)* as one of the Bal'amī manuscripts (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Pers. Suppl. 166, ff. 644v and 647r) and one of the Turkish Ṭabarī's manuscripts (Brit. Mus. Add. 7862, ff. 402r and 403r) would have it. Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī's بارسك might then be restored to *بارشينك (**Bāršīnk – Barčıng*, Arabic ش not infrequently serves as č in the transliteration of foreign names). If this is the case, we could then leave Lewond's account and P'arsbit''s sex undisturbed.

Barčıng – Barčın(?). Barčın in Kāšğarī is represented as a kind of "silken

[493] Łewond, *Patmut'iwn*, ed. Ezeanc', p. 101.

[494] K. Czeglédy, "Nyugati türk eredetű méltóságnevek" in *Névtudományi vizsgálatok*, ed. S. Mikesy (Budapest, 1955), p. 123. The oldest Manuscript of Łewond, Matenadaran 1902, f. 73v, line 15 has *mayr* "mother" very clearly.

[495] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, I, p. 407.

[496] Dasxuranc'i, *History*, trans. Dowsett, pp. 209–210.

material."[497] It has the same meaning in Mamluk Qıpčaq *(Kitāb al Idrāk*, ed. Caferoğlu, p. 30 : *barčın*) and Čuvaš (*Čuvaš–Russk. Slovar*, p. 293, *puršăn* "šëlk", "šëlkovyi" : Paasonen, *Tschuw. Wörterverzeichnis* p. 108: *pŭrźźən* "Seide"). In Hungarian *(bársony)* it means "velvet". The Hungarian form points to a pronunciation as **Barčang*/**Barčıng* (at least in the dialect from which it was borrowed into Hungarian).

A name of this type would fit into that category of Turkic personal names based on precious materials (*cf.* the common *Altun*/*Altın* "gold", *Kümüš* "silver").[498]

This explanation of the spelling variations is put forward by the writer very hesitantly. On the basis of the materials we have at hand now, there is no satisfactory conclusion to which one can come with any degree of certainty.

11. BĀŠTŪ/BĀŠTWĀ

ʿAbdullāh ibn Bāštwā is described in Ibn Faḍlān as a Khazar Muslim who was sent to the court of the Caliph al-Muqtadir (912–932) as ambassador of the Volga Bulğar king, Almuš ibn Šilki Yilṭawār (*yilṭawār* is the Oğuric form of *el täbär*[499] which, as we have already seen, was a title also borne by another Khazar vassal, Alp iłutʿuer, the ruler of the North Caucasian Huns) to ask for aid in both religious and military matters.[500] ʿAbdullāh is given the *nīsbah* "al-Xazarī" (the Khazar) in our source. It is impossible to determine, however, whether the term "al-Xazarī" was being used in its ethnic or political sense (as a Volga Bulğar, Bāštwā was a subject of the Khazar Qağan). If ʿAbdullāh ibn Bāštwā was ethnically a Khazar, his presence in the court of Almuš (who hoped to use the Arabs to assert his independence) would point to deep divisions in Atıl/İtil in the early tenth century.

The Mašhad manuscript of Ibn Faḍlān's work [*see* Ibn Faḍlān, ed. trans. Kovalevskii, p. 344 = f. 197a, line 9 and p. 342 (= f. 198a, line 4)] gives the form : عبدالله بن باشتوا = ʿAbdullāh bin Bāštwā (Plates 72–73).

[497] Kāšğarī, *Divan*, ed. Atalay, p. 254, *DLT Tercümesi*, trans. Atalay, I, p. 509 ; Brockelmann, *Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz*, p. 31 "Brokat".

[498] Abu'l-Ğāzī in his *Šäjärä-i Türäkimä* (*see* Kononov, *Rodoslovnaia Turkmen* (text), 1445) mentions a famous woman ruler amongst the Oğuz : *Barčın Salor*.

[499] Ibn Faḍlān, ed. trans. Kovalevskii, pp. 160 nn. 14–15, 314 (text). *See* also Czeglédy, "Egy bolgár–török *yiltavār* méltóságnév" *MNy*, XL (1944), pp. 182–186.

[500] Ibn Faḍlān, ed. trans. Kovalevskii, p. 121.

Pronunciation: باشتوا can render either Bāštū (this is Kovalevskii's suggestion[501]) with the *ʿAlif* silent or one of several variations of *Bāstwā (Bāštewe, Baštōve* etc.). The proper pronunciation can be determined only after etymological considerations have been taken into account.

Comments: We are probably dealing with two words here باش and توا. The former is clearly Turkic *Baš*[502] (Radloff, IV/2 pp. 1546–1551) OT., Osm., Azeri., Qrm., Trkm., Xiva., Sart., Čağ., ET., Tar., Qum., Qaz.T., QQır., Tob., Kur.: (*i*) "der Kopf" (*ii*) "der obere Theil" (*iii*) "der Anfang und das Ende" (*iv*) "der Anführer", "der Chef" (*v*) "der wichtigste".

For توا we face considerable difficulties, it may conceal *tävä* (Radloff, III/1, p. 1127, Uyğ. *tėvä*, Čağ., ET. *tävä*, QarT. *ťäv́ä*, all going back to OT *täbä*) "das Kamel". Animal names are very popular amongst the Turkic peoples (*cf. Buqa/Buğa, Buta, Boğra* etc.) but, I have not been able to find any personages who bore the name *Tävä/Tövä*. Yet, the spelling is identical with that used by Turkic peoples (*see* Houtsma, *TAG*, p. 69 among others) for *tävä*.

If we read *Baštävä*, meaning "head or lead camel", we encounter some difficulty in finding analogies. Zajączkowski, in his work on Quman–Slavic ties suggests the translation of the personal name and ethnonym *Bašqurd* in the *Povesť vremiannyx let* (*s. a.* 1185) as "przewodnik wilk" which would be an analogous usage of the word *baš* as we have it in *Baš tävä*.[503]

The ethnonym *Bašqurd/Bašqort* has often been explained on the basis of popular etymology as "head-wolf".[504] The name, however, is connected with the ethnonym *Basjirt, Basjird, Bāšğirt* etc. of the Islamic sources which refer to both the Hungarians and the Baškirs.[505]

[501] Ibn Faḍlān, ed. trans. Kovalevskii, p. 163 where he compares it with يبغو *yabğu*.

[502] It cannot be read as *bäš* "five" [although names with numerals are well-known to the Turkic world. *See* L. Rásonyi, "Les noms de nombre dans l'anthroponymie turque" *AOH*, XII (1961), pp. 45–71] for the Arabs would have written it without *'Alif*. (*See* Sauvaget, *op. cit.*, *JA*, 238 (1950), pp. 36, 39, 40, 41, 42, 46, 48).

[503] A. Zajączkowski, *Związki językowe połowiecko-słowiańskie* (Wrocław, 1949), pp. 36–37. *Bašqurd, Bašqort* is the Turkic form of *Baškir*.

[504] V. V. Bartol'd (Barthold), *EI*, I, p. 697; "Basdžirt" *Sočineniia* (Moskva, 1968), V, p. 494.

[505] V. V. Bartol'd (Barthold), *EI*, I, p. 697; "Basdžirt" *Sočineniia*, V, p. 494. I have no intention here of becoming embroiled in the Hungarian–Baškir question. I will limit myself to noting that early thirteenth century Hungarian monks travelling to what is now Baškiria found people there who spoke Hungarian. Thus, the ancestors of elements of the Baškirs may well have been Ugrians.

Tribal names are frequently used among the Turkic peoples as personal names. Thus, *Bāšqırd* is a Mamluk personal name.[506] The Russian Chronicles *(Nikonovskaia letopiś)* mention a *Polovets* (Quman) chieftain named *Kitan/Kytan*.[507] [= the well-known Altaic tribal name Qıtań (the Liao dynasty of China[508]) from which Russian *Kitay* "China" derives].

Thus we do not really know, from Zajączkowski's example, whether a tribal name used as a personal name or a personal name based on *baš* ("head") and *qurt* ("wolf") is meant.

Ottoman tradition does provide an example of *baš* + animal (totem?) name forming a personal name: *Bāš Boğa* "head bull" mentioned in Aşıkpaşazade's *Tevārīx-i al-i Osmān* and Neşrī's *Kitāb-ı cihan-nüma*.[509]

12. BÄK ~ BÄG

The tenth century Arab and Byzantine sources [Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, Ibn Faḍlān, Iṣṭaxrī, Ibn Ḥawqal and the thirteenth century Arab encyclopedist Yāqūt (who follows much of Ibn Faḍlān and Iṣṭaxrī)] mention a Khazar dignitary: the *Bäk*. Constantinus Porphyrogenitus and the Continuator of Theophanes (who evidently drew on the same sources as the royal historian) mention the presence of the *Bäk* ~ *Bäg* alongside the Qağan.[510] Ibn Faḍlān, who gives us a vivid picture of the Khazar hierarchy, calls the **Xāqān beh* the "deputy" *(xalīfā)* of the "King of the Khazars" *(malik al-Xazar)* whose title is *Xāqān*.[511] This is the same position held by the *Īšā* = **Īšad* as described by Ibn Rusta.[512] Although Ibn Rusta wrote in the early tenth century, it is generally acknowledged that he used sources referring to an earlier period.[513] There would thus seem to be a transition

[506] Sauvaget, *op. cit.*, p. 41. *See* also: Németh, *HMK*, p. 84.

[507] *PSRL*, IX, pp. 123–124.

[508] K. H. Menges, *The Turkic Languages and Peoples* (Wiesbaden, 1968), p. 17. The name remained well-known in the steppe *cf.* the sixteenth century Crimean prince *Temeš Kitai* (*PSRL*, XIII, pp. 84, 91, 424).

[509] Aşıqpaşazāde, *Tevārīx-i āl-i Osmān, Aşıqpaşazāde Tarīxi*, ed. ʿAlī Beğ (Istanbul, 1332/1913–14), p. 2; Meḥmed Neşrī, *Kitāb-ı cihan-nüma. Neşrī tarihi*, ed. F. R. Unat, M. A. Köymen (Ankara, 1949), I, p. 54.

[510] Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *DAI*, ed. Moravcsik–Jenkins, p. 182 (Bonn. ed.), p. 178; Theophanes Continuatus, *Historiae* (Bonn. ed.), p. 122.

[511] Ibn Faḍlān ed. trans. Kovalevskii, pp, 266, n. 891, 267, n. 898, 313 (= p. 212b of the Mašhad MS).

[512] Ibn Rusta, ed. de Goeje, p. 139.

[513] Marquart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 24–27; Dunlop, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

from *Šad* to *Bäk*. The title *Bäk* ~ *Bäg (cf.* plural *bäglär)* is known to the Kök Türkic inscriptions where it designates the "nobility" as opposed to the "masses" *(qara budun)*. It is nowhere used, in Ancient Turkic, in place of *Šad* which was a much more exalted title (implying kinship with the royal family and the command over an army or part of the state[514]).

Iṣṭaxrī and Ibn Ḥawqal (who follows him) write that the "King of the Khazars" *malik al-Xazar* is called بالك *(Bāk)* and بك *(Bāk)* but de Goeje, who edited both works, evidently felt some uneasiness about the readings.[515] The form بالك is probably a corruption of *بيلك *(*yilik)* a Turkic title meaning "prince" (this will be discussed below). The existence of this latter title amongst the Khazars is confirmed by Yāqūt and Qazwīnī.[516] Iṣṭaxrī was apparently aware of the dual kingship, for after noting that the "King of the Khazars" is called بالك or بك he later states that their ruler is called *Xāqān*.[517] This Qağan, he is careful to state, enjoys no real power, the real power in the state is in the hands of the *Malik/Bek*, *Beg*.

Sources

Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *DAI*

MS: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 2009, f. 118v, line 4: *πέχ* (Plate 74) *DAI* (Moravcsik–Jenkins, p. 182; Bonn. ed., p. 178): *πέχ*. *See also* Theophanes Continuatus, *Historiae* (Bonn ed.), p. 122: *πέχ*

Ibn Faḍlān (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*)

MSS: 1. Oxford, Bodleian, Marsh 132, f. 48r, line 24 and f. 48v, line 1 خاقان به *(xāqān b. h)* (Plates 7, 75)
2. British Museum 16,649, f. 385r, lines 14, 20: *xāqān b.h* (Plate 8)
3. British Museum 23,371, f. 144v, line 5, 9: *xāqān b^{w}h* (Plate 9)
4. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 2228, f. 106v, line 8; f. 107r, line 1: *xāqān b. h* (Plates 76, 77)

[514] László, "A kagán és családja" *KCsA*, 3 (1940), p. 32; Liu Mau-tsai, *op. cit.*, II, p. 498.

[515] Iṣṭaxrī, ed. de Goeje, p. 220; Ibn Ḥawqal, ed. de Goeje, p. 278. *See also* de Goeje's comments in vol. IV, p. 380 of the *BGA*. Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, p. 257 suggests the reading **yelbek*. There is no justification for this in the manuscripts.

[516] Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, II, p. 437; *Zakarija Ben Muhammed Ben Mahmud el Cazwinis Kosmographie*, ed. F. von Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1848), II, p. 393. *See* also P. Golden: "The Q'azaro-Hungarian Title/Personal Name بلك ~ *Iélεχ*" *AEMAe*, I (1975) where the evidence indicating that *bāk* is a corruption of *y. l. k* is presented.

[517] Iṣṭaxrī, ed. de Goeje, p. 224.

5. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 6601, f. 126v, line 19; f. 127r, line 1: *xāqān b^{w}h* (Plates 11, 78)
6. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 6040, f. 75v, line 29; f. 76r, line 6: *xāqān b. h* (Plates 12, 79)
7. Istanbul, Topkapı, III Ahmet 2715/4, f. 77v, line 21; f. 78r, line 8: *xāqān b. h* (Plates 13, 80)
8. Istanbul, Köprülü 1163, f. 70r, lines 5, 12: *xāqān b^{w}h* (Plate 81)

Iṣṭaxrī

MSS: 1. Leiden, Rijksuniversiteit Bibliotheek OR 3101, f. 42r, line 14, barely legible: باك *(bāk)*, بك *(bäk)* (Plate 82)
2. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 6032, f. 92v, line 10: *bāk, bäk* (Plate 83)
3. Istanbul, Aya Sofya 2971, f. 61r, line 18: *bāk, bäk* (Plate 84)

Ibn Ḥawqal

The Ibn Ḥawqal manuscripts that I have consulted (Leiden OR314, Paris 2214 and Istanbul 3346) have all left out or corrupted this passage. de Goeje ed., p. 278: *bāk, bäk*; Kramers ed., II, p. 390 has only باك > تال

Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*

I have included the باك *bāk* forms of Yāqūt in this listing. As indicated above, I consider باك *bāk* a corruption of يلك *yilik*. The original source of al-Iṣṭaxrī and Yāqūt must have had يلك *yilik* and بك *bäk* which was corrupted to باك ~ بك *bāk* ~ *bäk* and باك ~ يلك *bāk* ~ *yilik*.

MSS: 1. Oxford, Bodleian, Marsh 132, f. 47v, line 21: *bāk* (Plate 85)
2. British Museum 16,649, f. 384v, line 17: *bāk* (Plate 86)
3. British Museum 23,371, f. 144r, line 33: *bāk* (Plate 87)
4. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 2228, f. 105r, line 16: *bāk* (Plate 88)
5. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 6601, f. 126r, line 16: *bāk* (Plate 89)
6. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 6040, f. 75v, line 1: *bāk* (Plate 12)
7. Istanbul, Topkapı, III Ahmet 2715/4, f. 77r, line 5: *bāk* (Plate 90)
8. Istanbul, Köprülü, 1163, f. 69r, line 13: *bāk* (Plate 91)

Pronunciation: The Arabic *kāf* represents a palatal *k'* as opposed to the velar *qāf q*. The *χ* of the Byzantine sources may indicate that this *k'* was so strongly palatalized that it verged on *x/h*. A phenomenon similar to this may be seen in Tuva Turkic and Modern Mongolian dialects. In both of them, *q* and *k* have undergone this change. It is regular in Mongol and as

yet not completely understood in Tuvinian.[518] Further evidence for a highly palatalized *k'* in Khazar may be seen in the word *P'arsbit'* (*see* below).

Sometimes, however, Byzantine *χ* is used to render *ğ*, *cf.* *Γενα*χ (= Hung. **Yenäğ* > *Jenő* etc.). This *ğ* must have been qualitatively different from the *γ* of Greek and the غ of Arabic, hence the *χ* ~ ع forms.

The significance of the forms with *ḥarakas* in the Paris 6601 (ff. 126v, 127r), Köprülü 1163 (f. 70v) and British Museum 23,371 (f. 144v) manuscripts of Yāqūt (Ibn Faḍlān) giving *b^{w}h* is not clear. Indeed, these are the only manuscripts which provide forms with *ḥarakas* of this word.

Comments: *Πέχ* (= *Bex* = *Bek'* ~ *Beğ*), بِه (*B.h* = **Beh* ~ *Beğ*), بك (*Bäk*, *Bäg*) = *Bäk*, *Bäg* (Radloff, IV/2, p. 1580) Čağ. (بك, بيك). ET., Tar., Qrm., Qum., Trkm.; Xiva = *pāk*, *bāi* "der Beg", "der Beamte".[519]

13. BELGİČİ ~ BÄLGİČİ - BALĞIČI (*BALIQČI?)

Balıqčı*/Bälgiči* is the name (title?) of the Khazar governor of the city Bosporus mentioned in Theophanes *sub anno* 6195 (703/704[520]). He appears in connection with the events surrounding Justinian II's banishment to the Crimea (*see* pp. 60–61 above). The forms of the name, as listed in the various manuscripts of Theophanes' *Chronographia*, cited by de Boor are: *βαλγίτζιν*, *βαλγίτζην*, *βαλγίτειν*, *βαλγιτζην* (Balgitzin), *βαλγίτζην*, *βαλγίτζνν* (Balgitzin).

Sources

Theophanes, *Chronographia*

MSS: 1. Oxford, Christ Church 5, f. 245r, lines 3, 8: *βαλγίτζιν* (Plate 92)

[518] F. G. Isxakov, A. A. Pal'mbax, *Grammatika tuvinskogo iazyka* (Moskva, 1961), p. 78; Grønbech, Krueger, *Introduction to Classical (Literary) Mongolian*, p. 14.

[519] For a discussion of the place of this title within the Altaic world, *see* W. Kotwicz, "Contributions aux études altaïques: les titres princiers: turc *bäg*, mo. *begi* et ma. *beile*" *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, XVI (1950) and Doerfer, *TMEN*, II. pp. 389–406. Doerfer presents the case for both an Iranian or Chinese origin for this word (both of which he considers possible) and then suggests that it may well be native Turkic in origin or perhaps of Žuan-žuan provenance (*see* Doerfer, *TMEN*, II, esp. pp. 402–405).

[520] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, I, p. 373; *See* Ostrogorsky [G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. J. Hussey (New Brunswick, 1957), p. 80, (revised 1969 ed.), p. 88] for the means of reckoning the chronology used in Theophanes.

2. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 1710, f. 307v, line 22: *βαλγιτζιν* (Plate 93); f. 308r, line 6: *βαλγίτζιν* (Plate 94)

Moravcsik reads *βαλγίτζιν* as *Bälgiči*.[521] Zajączkowski, following Kokovtsov, suggests that this word be compared with בולשצי which he emends to read *בולגיצי. There is, however, no compelling reason to emend בולשצי which should be read as **Boluščı* (*see* below). Barring an emendation, Zajączkowski reads *βαλγίτζιν* as **Balğıcı* or possibly **Bölikči*. He also mentions an etymology from *Bulağačın* as "enticing".[522] Zajączkowski, however, does not come out strongly for any of these readings nor has he proved the case for any of them.

Pronunciation: Byzantine Greek *β* can render either *b* or *v* (the latter being the pronunciation at the time of Theophanes). Many authors, however, tended to classicize and remembering that *β* originally stood for *b* used it to represent that sound which in texts written in a less classical style was rendered by *π* or *μπ*. *a* usually rendered *a* but could also give *ä* (*cf.* *κουαρτζι τζούρ* = *küärči-čur* in Constantine Porphyrogenitus.[523] Further examples from this author are *Πατζιναχῖται* **Päčinäk* – **Pečeneg*, *'Ατελκούζου* = Hung. Etelköz). *λ* renders *l* and *γ* gives *g* (classicizing) or *ğ*. *ι* can be either *i* or *ı*. The combination *τζ* regularly renders *č*. The reading can be either **Balğıcı* or **Bälgiči*.

Comments: Bälgiči would be a *nomen agentis* from *Bälgi* ~ *Bälgü*.

Ancient Turkic and Uygur: *bälgü* "sign", "symbol".[524] Quman (Grønbech, *Kom. Wb.*, p. 58): *belgirt-* "zeigen", "an den Tag legen", "manifestare". The twelfth and thirteenth century Central Asiatic Qurānic *tafsir*s (*see* Borokov, *Leksika*, p. 97) have: *bälgü* "primeta", "priznak", "svidetel'stvo". Mamluk Qıpčaq (the *Kitāb al-Idrāk*, ed. Caferoğlu, p. 36 of the Arabic text and p. 17 of the Turkish translation): *bälgürdi* "it became evident, clear", *bälgü* "clear", "evident". Modern Qıpčaq dialects have similar forms. Čuvaš *pallâ* (*see* Paasonen, Tschuw. Wörterverz. p. 93.) and Hungarian (loanword) *bélyeg* "Merkmal", "Kennzeichen" represent the Oğuric tradition: *cf.* Volga Bulğar بلوڭ *bälüg*, Danubian Bulğar белѣгъ — бѣлѣгъ — билѣгъ.[525]

[521] Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 36.

[522] Zajączkowski, *Ze studiów*, pp. 37–38.

[523] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *DAI*, ed. Moravcsik–Jenkins, pp. 168, 170. *See* also Németh, *Die Inschriften*, pp. 50–51.

[524] Orkun, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 23; Caferoğlu, *Uygur sözlüğü*, p. 38.

[525] Gombocz, *BTL*, p. 43; Pritsak, "Bolgaro-Tschuwaschica" *UAJb*, XXXI (1959), p. 303.

Thus, **Belgičı/*Bälgičı* might mean "the keeper of the seal". There is no record of this word used as a title. It does, however, connote a specific duty which had considerable significance in the Altaic world (*cf.* the *tamğa* of the Xans of the Golden Horde.) The word could, thus, be compared with the *Tamğačı* of the Central Asiatic Turks and the Mongol-Qıpčaq Golden Horde and the *Nışancı* of the Ottomans.[526]

Another possibility is to read *βαλγίτζιν* as a velar **Balğıčı* which could be a metathesized form of **Balığčı – *Balıqčı*, a *nomen agentis* from *Balıq* (*DTS*, p. 80 "gorod"), **Balıqčı* "governor of a city". This interesting suggestion (which would clearly fit the role *βαλγίτζιν* played according to Theophanes) was first put forward by Kokovtsov.[527] Zajączkowski, however, rejected this, noting that the word, in this reconstructed form, is not found in any of the Turkic dialects.[528]

14. BOLUŠČI

**Boluščı* is a Khazar name found in the letter of the Anonymous Khazar Jew *(The Cambridge Document)*.[529] Associated with this word in the text is the Hebrew name Pesaḥ (this is actually the name of a holiday. S. W. Baron in discussing Khazar Judaism notes: "In adopting a great many Hebrew names, while apparently retaining also their native Khazar designations, they impartially accepted derivatives from biblical and post-biblical holidays such as Pesaḥ "Passover" and Ḥanukkah. The former name later became quite common among East-European Jews."[530]). It should also be noted that naming a person after a holiday is not uncommon amongst the Turks of today, particularly if the person is born on that holiday (*cf.* the numerous "Bayrams" in Turkey today).

**Boluščı* Pesaḥ was a general of Khazar forces in the early tenth century by which time Judaism had been long established in Khazaria. He seems

[526] B. Spuler, *Die goldene Horde* (Leipzig, 1943), pp. 262–264 (for Tamğacı). On the Ottoman *Nışancı see:* J. Reychman, A. Zajączkowski, *Handbook of Ottoman-Turkish Diplomatics*, revised, expanded, translated A. S. Ehrenkreutz (The Hague–Paris, 1968), p. 164.

[527] Kokovtsov, *op. cit.*, p. 119

[528] Zajączkowski, *Ze studiów*, p. 38.

[529] Kokovtsov, *op. cit.*, p. 35, Cambridge MS T-S loan 38, Misc. 35, p. 3, line 20; Schechter, *op. cit.*, pp. 208–209.

[530] Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, III, p. 202.

to have governed the Khazar possessions in and around the Crimea.[531] The exact chronology is uncertain.

The Cambridge Document (Cambridge MS T-S loan 38, Misc. 35, p. 3, line 20 (Plate 95) gives the form : בולשצי = *(Bū/ōlš/s.ṣī)*

Pronunciation: Beth (ב) served as either *b* or *v* (*b̲*) in Medieval Hebrew texts. There is another way of representing *v*, however, by employing doubled *Waw* (וו).[532] It is more probable that *Beth* here stood for *b* (if *v* were intended, presumably, doubled *Waw* would have been used to avoid confusion). *Waw* in Medieval Hebrew writing, as in Ancient, could represent either *u* or *o* depending on pointing[533] as well as *v*. As the pointing is not indicated here, one must choose other criteria for deciding which reading to follow. In the case of Turkic words in Hebrew transcription, viable etymologies, the laws of Turkic phonetics and comparative onomastics are the only criteria available. ש *(Śin* or *Šin)* may represent either *s* (originally *ś*) or *š* depending on the pointing. As there is another *s* (ס *Samekh*) in the Hebrew alphabet which can only represent *s*; one can assume that the writer, in order to avoid confusion, would have used *Samekh* to represent *s*. In Yiddish and Qaraim, *Sin* is used only in Hebrew words which had this sound originally. In all other cases *Samekh* is employed. Yiddish and Qaraim usage, of course, are not binding on Khazar but it indicates the general usage of the time (the earliest Yiddish documents stem from the tenth century) and can help illustrate how the Hebrew alphabet adapted itself to foreign elements. Therefore, ש should be read as *š*. *Ṣade* (צ) was in Ancient Hebrew the equivalent of Arabic *Ṣād*. In Medieval times, it rendered : *s*, *ts* and *č*.[534] Arabic also used *Ṣād* for *č* (*cf.* صول for *Čul/Čor-* the Pass of Darband in Ṭabarī[535]). In our word it probably renders *č*. *Yod* at all times gave *i* or *yi* (Hebrew, of course, had no way of rendering Turkic *ı*). The word should best be read, in my view, as : **Bōlšṣī* = **Bolušči*. The etymological and onomastic justification will be given below.

Comments: בולשצי may be read as either : **Bolušči* or *Bulušči*. *Bulušči* would be a *nomen actoris* from the Turkic root *buluš-* (Radloff, IV/2, p.

[531] Kokovtsov, *op. cit.*, pp. 118–119.

[532] F. Kupfer, T. Lewicki, *Źródła hebrajskie do dziejów Słowian i niektórych innych ludów środkowej i wschodniej Europy* (Wrocław–Warszawa, 1956), pp. 14–15.

[533] Kupfer, Lewicki, *Źródła hebrajskie*, p. 15.

[534] Kupfer, Lewicki, *Źródła hebrajskie*, p. 17.

[535] Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, I, p. 895.

1847) Osm. "sich zusammenfinden", "sich finden", "sich begegnen", "eine Sache besprechen".

In Qazan Tatar (Radloff, IV/2, p. 1842 *bulıš-* "zusammen sein", "helfen") *boluš-* and *buluš* have merged. Mamluk Qıpčaq: *Kitāb al-Idrāk*, ed. Caferoğlu, Arabic text, p. 35: *bulušdı* "he happened upon", "came together with" ("rastladı", "buluştular").

There are, however, no analogies for a name based on the root *buluš-*. *Boluš-* (Radloff, IV/2, p. 1672) Qum., Qar.T., "helfen", "beistehen". *Codex Cumanicus* (Grønbech, *Kom. Wb.*, pp. 64–65) *boluš-* "Hilfe", "coadiutor", *boluš-* "helfen", "adiuuare". Mamluk Qıpčaq (*Kitāb al-Idrāk*, ed. Caferoğlu, Arabic text, p. 35; Turkish trans., p. 20): *bolušṭu* "he helped, aided", yardım et-". Qaračay (Pröhle, *KSz.*, X (1909), p. 94): *boluš-* "helfen" ... *bolušū* "Hilfe"; *bolušūču* "Helfer", "Helferin"; *bolušluq* "Hilfe". Armeno-Quman (Tryjarski, *Dictionnaire*, I, p. 158): *bolušuči* "pomocnik", "pomagający", "aide", "celui qui aide" (*see also* Schütz, *An Armeno-Kipchak Chronicle*, p. 125: *bolušlux* "help".).

Zajączkowski[536] notes that the root *boluš-* in the sense of "to help" is found only in Qıpčaq. As an analogy we can mention *Boluš'*, the Xan of the Polovtsy (Qumans) who invaded Ruś in 1054.

The Qaračay *bolušūču* (= *bolušuwču*) and Armeno-Quman *bolušuči (see* also Qaz.T. *bulıšučı*, Qar.T. *bolušuču)* are *nomina actoris*, built on the verbal noun ending in *-u/-ū/-w*, a feature common to Qıpčaq dialects. Our form, is based on the noun *boluš* + the denominal *nomen actoris* suffix *-čı/či: boluš* + *čı (cf.* Osm. *yardım* + *cı*, *demir* + *ci*, Qaz. Tat., *yardäm* + *če*, *bulıš* + *čı* alongside of *bulıšučı)*.

Bolušči should be compared with other Khazar names ending in *-či (cf. Awči, Bälgiči)*. The name should be translated as "helper" or perhaps as Zajączkowski suggests in regard to болушь as "guardian".[537]

15. BULAN

Bulan is the name of the legendary Khazar Qağan who, as described in the letter of the Qağan Joseph to Ḥasday ben Šaprut, converted to Judaism. This is the only Turkic name mentioned in Joseph's letter in which he lists

[536] Zajączkowski, *Związki połowiecko-słowiańskie*, pp. 34–35.

[537] Zajączkowski, *Związki połowiecko-słowiańskie*, pp. 34–35. Gyóni [M. Gyóni, *A magyar nyelv görög jeljegyzéses szórványemlékei* (vol. 24 of the series *Magyar–Görög Tanulmányok*, Budapest, 1943), p. 36] suspects that this *Bolušči* is somehow connected with Hung. *Bulcsu*, etc. Such a connection has yet to be established.

the names of the Khazar rulers. Evidently, after Bulan's conversion, his descendents took Hebrew throne-names. The name Bulan appears in both the Long and Short Redactions of Joseph's letter. The forms, as given by Kokovtsov[538] are identical:

Short Redaction: בולאן
Long Redaction: בולאן

Sources

The Khazar Correspondence
MS: Oxford, Christ Church 193, f. 16v, lines 3 & 5: בולאן (Plate 96)

Pronunciation: Beth renders *b*. *Waw* can represent *u*, *o* or *v* depending on pointing. In this name it probably represents *u*. *Lāmedh* at all times is *l*. *Aleph*, originally (like Arabic *'Alif*) stood for any of the vowels preceded by rough breathing. In Medieval Hebrew transcriptions of French, German and Slavic words, initial *u*, *o* or *i* were usually represented by: וא, אוֹ and אוּ.[539] In a few cases, in Old Iranian loan-words in Talmudic Hebrew *ā* could be represented by *Waw* but this may represent colloquial pronunciation on the part of Iranian speakers themselves.[540] In Yiddish and Qaraim, *Aleph* always stands for *a* (also *o* in Yiddish). It seems most probable that this was the way it was used here. Although one can find instances of its use for *e*[541] the laws of Altaic vowel harmony must be taken into account (if *Waw* stands for *u*, *Aleph* must represent *a*). *Nun* gives *n* at all times. בולאן then, should be read as: **Bulan* (perhaps, if *Waw* = *ü*, **Bülän*).

Etymology: Bulan/Pulan (Radloff, IV/2, p. 1374) Alt., Tel., Leb., Šor., Sag., Qoib., KČ., Küär. "das Elenthier". *Bulan* (Budagov, I, p. 289) Čağ., Qaz. *Pulan* Alt. "Elk." Mamluk Qıpčaq has *bulan (at-Tuḥfat* ed. Halasi-Kun, f. 38v, lines 7–8, Atalay ed. f. 39r, lines 7–8: *yaḥmūr–bulan*). Atalay (p. 157) mistakenly translates the Arabic *yaḥmūr* as "yaban eşeği", "wild ass", "zebra". Although in Arabic "*yaḥmūr*" has the meaning "wild ass" it can also mean "a species of antelope". This latter meaning certainly better renders the sense of Turkic *Bulan*. Qazan Tatar (Radloff, IV/2, p.

[538] Kokovtsov, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 28.
[539] Kupfer, Lewicki, *Źródła hebrajskie*, p. 14.
[540] S. Telegdi, "Essai sur la phonétique des emprunts iraniens en araméen talmudique". *JA* CCXXVI (1935), pp. 190–191.
[541] Kupfer, Lewicki, *Źródła hebrajskie*, p. 13.

1712) has *bulan* "der Hirsch", „das Elenthier". Other modern Qıpčaq dialects give similar forms. Maḥmūd Kāšğarī associates this animal, in his day, with the country of the Qıpčaqs: "*Bulan* — a rather large wild animal hunted in the lands of the Qıpčaqs."[542]

A palatal form, from which the Hungarian *bölény* stems[543] seems also to have existed. Eastern Slavic has the form (adj.) *bulanyi* "light bay", "cream-colored" (a borrowing from Turkic).

Thus, there is ample evidence for this word in Turkic with the meaning "elk", "deer". It is probably a totemistic name. The name *Bulan* should definitely be viewed as Turkic and can be compared with other Turkic names such as *Buğa*, *Bota* etc.

16. BLUČ'AN/BULČ'AN/BULǰĀN

Around the year 800[544] the Qağan of the Khazars, as the Georgian Chronicle reports, having taken Tbilisi learned of the beauty of the Georgian princess Šušan and sought to marry her. The reluctant bride-to-be poisoned herself while en route to the Qağan. When the latter's general Bluč'an (who had been sent to escort Šušan to her suitor) returned empty-handed, the Qağan in a rage at Bluč'an for not bringing back at least the corpse of his would-be-bride so that he might see it had his horsemen tie ropes around the hapless general's neck and then, riding "in different directions", they ripped his head off.[545] The tale, though intertwined with legend, has a number of realistic touches. As we know from Ibn Faḍlān (*see* above), the Khazar Qağans often married the princesses of subject peoples. The name of the Khazar general (the Georgian text calls him a *spasalari* "commander") is also found in an Arabic chronicle *(Ta'rīx al-Bāb)* in a notice for the year 901 when the king of the Khazars who attacked Bāb al-Abwāb in that year, is called K.sā ibn B.ljān al-Xazari.[546] Finally, the manner in

[542] Kāšğarī, *Divan*, ed. Atalay, p. 208; *DLT Tercümesi*, trans. Atalay, I, p. 413.

[543] Gombocz, *BTL*, p. 55. *See* heading *Khazar* of this Word-list for a discussion of the velar-palatal question in general and *Bulan–*Bülän* ~ bölény in particular. Doerfer (*TMEN*, II, pp. 356–357) rather doubts the existence of this palatal form considering it a "Hörfehler".

[544] For dating *see* Marquart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 416–419; Toumanoff, *op. cit.*, p. 411, n. 24; Artamonov, *op. cit.*, p. 251. A different dating is offered by Javaxišvili, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 80–81 who suggests that reference is being made here to the 764 raid.

[545] *K'art'lis C'xovreba*, I, pp. 249–250.

[546] Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān*, p. 42, (Arabic text), p. 17.

which Bulčʿan was executed seems quite authentic. This absolute power over life and death which the Qağan appears to have in the Georgian tale is confirmed by Ibn Faḍlān.[547]

Sources

Kʿartʿlis Cʿxovreba
ed. Qauxčʿišvili, I, pp. 249 ; 250 : *Bločʿan, Bulčʿan, Bulǰan, Gulčʿan*

Taʾrīx al-Bāb
Minorsky, *History of Sharvān*, p. 17 of Arabic text : بلجان *(B.lǰān)*

Münejjimbaşı
MSS : 1. Istanbul, Nur-i Osmaniye 3172, f. 655r, line 28 : *ʔ lḥā ʔ* dots missing (Plate 97)
2. Istanbul, Topkapı, III Ahmet Ktph. 2954 c. II, f. 1057r, line 13 : *ʔ ʔ ḥān* dots missing (Plate 98)
3. Istanbul, Bayezıt, Veliyüddin 5020, f. 731, line 10 : *B.lǰān* (Plate 99)
4. Süleymaniye, Esʿad Efendi 2103, f 645r, line 9 : *ʔ lḥān* dots missing (Plate 100)

Pronunciation: Both the pronunciation and the meaning of this name are unclear. Why the Georgian manuscripts cited by Qauxčʿišvili contain two different traditions *(Bločʿan ~ Bulčʿan)* is also not readily explicable. Are these simply copyists' errors or do they point to two different traditions reflecting two distinct (but similar) notices on this Khazar general which were later combined (in some versions the *Bločʿan* transcription of this Khazar name winning out and in others *Bulčʿan*)? If the latter supposition is correct, we may be faced with two slightly different attempts

[547] This is found in the portion of the text that has come down to us in Yāqūt (*Muʿjam al-Buldān*, ed. von Wüstenfeld, II, p. 439 and Ibn Faḍlān, ed. trans. Kovalevskii, p. 147). The princess Güldursun of Central Asiatic legend whose love for one of the commanders of a Kalmyk force besieging her city caused her to betray the city was executed in an identical fashion by the Kalmyk prince (*see* Tolstov, *Po sledam drevnexorezmiiskoi tsivilizatsii*, pp. 17–19). A similar method was to tie the victim to two bent trees which were then released. This form of execution was used by the Oğuz for adulterers [*see* Ibn Faḍlān, ed. trans. Kovalevskii, p. 126, (text) f. 198b]. A Sāmānid vezīr, Abū Faḍl al-Marvazī al-Sulamī died in the same way [*see* Narshakhi, *The History of Bukhara*, trans. R. Frye (Cambridge, Mass. 1954), p. 104, n. 13].

at transcribing the name **Bulučan* (meaning?). Minorsky suggests this reading[548] without, however, offering any reasons for it.

The Arabic forms are (with the exception of the Bayezıt MS) without dots and all are lacking *ḥarakas* which would provide some clue as to pronunciation. On the basis of the Bayezıt MS form بلجان *(Blǰān)*, I have linked the Arabic forms with the Georgian *Bulčʿan*. This is, however, a tentative suggestion. Before anything definite can be said about either of these forms, more information must be forthcoming.

17. ČʿATʿ KASAR

Čʿatʿ Kasar is described, in the *History of the Caucasian Albanians* of Movsēs Dasxurancʿi, as the chamberlain of *Awčʿı Tʿarxan (see* above).

Sources

Movsēs Dasxurancʿi

Dowsett, in his translation (*History of the Caucasian Albanians*, p. 167) cites two forms: *Čʿatʿ Kasar, Katʿ Kasar.*

The Emin edition (p. 294) has Ջաթ Կասար (Čʿatʿ Kasar)

MS: British Museum OR 5261, f. 185v, line 1 ջաթ կասա՛ր *(Čʿatʿ Kasar)* (Plate 32)

Comments: Dowsett (p. 167, n. 2) suggests that Ջ *(Čʿ)* is a mistake for Շ *(Š)* thus making Ջաթ *(Čʿatʿ)* Շաթ *(Šatʿ)*. The latter is a well-known Turkic title (which will be discussed below). Titles used as personal names are common in the Turkic world.[549] If Ջաթ is to be read as *Šatʿ* it can only be in the sense that it was a personal name, for the title *Šad* (Շաթ *Šatʿ*) was one of the highest Turkic dignitaries, far above a *Tarqan*. It is inconceivable that a *Šad* should be the chamberlain of a *Tarqan*. A further complication of this problem is the regular substitution, in some manuscripts, of *k* for *čʿ*. It is impossible, at this stage, to determine which of the manuscript traditions is correct. It is obvious that Ջ *(Čʿ)* and Կ *(K)* can in no way be confused. Until the problem regarding which of the two traditions is correct can be solved, any speculations as to the meaning of *čʿatʿ (katʿ*, *kät?) would be useless.

[548] Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān*, p. 106.

[549] Houtsma, *TAG*, p. 29.

Կասար also presents us with a number of problems. It is highly unlikely that we have here a garbling of *Qʿazar*, as the form **խազիրք** *(Xazir-kʿ)* is firmly fixed in Armenian tradition. Moreover, Dasxurancʿi uses only this form.

Kasar should be compared with the Uyğur personal name *Xasar* as found in an Uyğur Manichaean prayerbook:[550] *Xasār Tegin*. The word *qasar* is found (in the plural form) in one Mamluk Qıpčaq text: *qaṣarlar*[551] "dog pack". The word is also present in Mongolian (*qasar* dial. *asar*, *see* Pelliot, *Quelques noms turcs*, p. 208, n. 2). Pelliot *(see* above *Qʿazar)* considers it a borrowing from Khazar Turkic in Mongol. Pelliot, however, has not explained how and when Mongol–Khazar contacts were established. As we have already seen, *qasar* and *Qʿazar* are unrelated. A satisfactory explanation of *qasar* is still lacking.

18. ČʿATʿN XAZR

Čʿatʿn Xazr appears in the *History of the Caucasian Albanians* by Movsēs Dasxurancʿi as one of the chiefs of *Alp iłutʿuer*.[552] It is unclear from the text whether **Ճաթ Կասար** *(Čʿatʿ Kasar)* is to be connected with **Ճաթն Խազր** *(Čʿatʿn Xazr)*. The forms look suspiciously alike, but there are some important differences: the final *n* of *Čʿatʿn* (if not a determinative particle) and the form *Xazr* as opposed to *Kasar*. It would appear from these differences that they should not be connected. Of course, these variations can be ascribed to the mistakes of copyists, but we have no compelling reason to do so.

Sources

Movsēs Dasxurancʿi

MS: British Museum OR 5261, f. 186v, lines 9–10: *Čʿatʿn Xazr* (Plate 33); f. 188v, lines 17–18: *Čʿatʿn Xazr* (Plate 101)

The Emin edition of Dasxurancʿi (p. 297) has *Čʿatʿn Xazr*.

Dowsett (pp. 168–170) gives the following readings: *Čʿatʿn Xazr* (twice) *Katxazs*, *Katʿ xazs*, *Katʿn Xazr* (twice).

Pronunciation: **Ճաթն** may be read as **Čʿatʿɪn* or **Čʿätʿin* (?). Meaning: unclear. Again we are faced with the **կ** ~ **ք** confusion of **Ճաթ Կասար**.

[550] Müller, "Ein Doppelblatt", p. 9.

[551] *See at-Tuḥfat*, ed. Halasi-Kun, f. 85r; Atalay ed., f. 85v.

[552] Dasxurancʿi, *History*, trans. Dowsett, p. 168.

19. ČIČÄK

In the Byzantine *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae libri*, a product of the historical workshop of the Emperor Constantinus Porphyrogenitus (913–959) we read of a kind of woman's clothing called *τὸ τζιτζάκιον*. As can readily be seen the word is not Greek. Gy. Moravcsik, who wrote a very interesting article[553] on the origin of the word, checked the manuscripts to clarify a passage relating to this word which in the Bonn edition had been mis-read. The note elucidating the origin of this word, as reported by Moravcsik, should be read as follows: "Know you that the *tzitzakia* are Khazar apparel which were displayed by the Khazaress, the Augusta, in this the Imperial and God-protected city."[554] Moravcsik concluded that this type of garment was introduced to the Byzantine capital by an Empress of Khazar origin whose Khazar name (after marriage to a Byzantine Emperor it was natural, indeed, mandatory that the bride convert to the Orthodox faith and assume a Greek name) was given to the garment she made famous. This Khazaress could only have been the daughter of the Khazar Qağan who in 732 was married to Constantine (Copronymus) the son and heir of Leo the Isaurian.[555] Her Greek name became *Eiréné* by which she is known in the sources. The Bonn edition of *De Cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*[556] gives the following readings: *τὸ τζιτζάκιον (tò) tzitzákion* (pp. 86, 90, 92, 141, 142, 213, 440), *τζιτζιάκιον tzitziákion* (88, 89) and *(τὰ) τζιτζάκια (tà) tzitzákia* (pp. 22, 98, 187, 188).

*Pronunciation: τζιτζάκιον = Tzitzákion = *Čičäk* + (Greek neuter ending) — *ion. τζ* regularly represents *č. a* can render both *a* and *ä* in the transcription of foreign words *(see *Bälgiči* above).

*Etymology: *Čičäk* (Radloff, III/2, p. 2144 Osm.) "die Blume" = *Čäčäk* (Radloff, III/2, p. 1988, Qaz. T., Alt., Čağ., ET., Tar., Qrm.) "die Blume". Moravcsik notes that this is a common woman's name in the Altaic world and compares it with the Hungarian *Virág* ("flower") and the Turkic *Ürük*

[553] Gy. Moravcsik, "Proisxoždeniie slova TZITZAKION" *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, IV (1931), pp. 71–76.

[554] *Ibid.*, p. 71.

[555] *Ibid.*, p. 72; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, I, pp. 409–410.

[556] Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De Cerimoniis aulae byzantinae libri*, ed. J. J. Reiske (Bonnae, 1829–1840). Thanks to Moravcsik's thorough study, the Greek forms of this name are well known and hence manuscripts (there is only one known complete ms. of the *De Cerimoniis*) have not been checked.

("apricot"), *Pistägül* ("pistachio-rose") *Elmagül* ("apple-rose").[557] The mother of the Caliph al-Muktafī billāh (902–908) was a Turkish slave-girl named *Čičāk*.[558] Houtsma[559] has *Čičāk* in his list of Turkic personal names.

20. Č'ORPAN T'ARXAN

Č'orpan T'arxan is the name and title of a Khazar general sent by the "prince of the North" (this was one of several names given by Transcaucasian sources to the Qağan of the Western Kök Türks and the Khazar Qağan) to ravage Armenia in 630. The Persian army sent out to meet them under Honah was completely destroyed. Movsēs Dasxuranc'i, who recounts these events, has supplied many interesting details about Khazar customs. After the Persian army had been routed, the Khazars, we are told, sacrificed the horses of their enemies. This practice (the sacrifice of horses) was also followed, as we have already noted above (*see* pp. 91–92) by the North Caucasian "Huns" and other Turkic peoples. The Khazar advance through Transcaucasia was suddenly halted; internecine strife had erupted in the Khazar home territory.[560] This was part of the larger civil war in the Western Kök Türk empire.[561] We do not know the fate of Č'orpan T'arxan.

We find the name in the *History of the Caucasian Albanians* by Movsēs Dasxuranc'i. Dowsett, in his translation (p. 104) transcribes the name thus : *Čorpan T'arxan (Č'orpan T'arxan* in the system of transcription we are using here). The Emin edition of the text (p. 190) has the form *Չորպան Թարխան (Č'orpan T'arxan).*

Sources

Movsēs Dasxuranc'i

MS : British Museum OR 5261, f. 118r, lines 6–7 : *չորպան Թարխանն (Č'orpan T'arxan-n)* (Plate 102)

Pronunciation: չ is an aspirated *č'*. ր represents the soft Armenian *r*. պ is an unaspirated *p* (it can sound almost like a *b*). The form *չորպան Թարխան* clearly gives : *Č'orpan T'arxan.*

[557] Moravcsik, "Proisxoždeniie slova TZITZAKION", p. 74.
[558] Ṭabarī, *Annales*, III, p. 2280.
[559] Houtsma, *TAG*, p. 29.
[560] Dasxuranc'i, *History*, trans. Dowsett, p. 106.
[561] Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*, p. 143 ; Chavannes, *Documents*, pp. 25–32.

Comments: We see in the word *Č'orpan* an $r \sim l$ oscillation found in a number of Khazar words and not unknown to other Turkic dialects: Qazan Tatar: *šulpa–šurpa* "soup" = Osm. *çorba*, Uyğ., Čağ., Sart. *šorba*. Čuvaš *pŭrdə̂*, *purtă* "ax" = Common Turkic *balta* "*idem*". Osm. *barçak* ~ *balçak* "guard of a sword hilt".

This wavering is very common in loanwords taken from or via Turkic into other languages. Thus, we find *σουρτάνος* ~ *σουλτάνος* (= Ar. *ṣultān*) in Greek sources.[562] Mas'ūdī calls the Volga Bulğars برغز (*Burğaz* = **Burğar* برغر).[563] An Arabic source, the *Kitāb Tafḍīl al-Atrāk*,[564] calls the Seljuqs *Sarǰuq*. Compare also Russian *šarovary* ("wide trousers" = Turkish *ṣelvar* "*idem*"[565]) and (Medieval) *Besermen* ("Muslim" = Türkic. *Müsülman—Büsürman*). Ṭabarī (*Annales*, ed. de Goeje, II, pp. 1421, 1523, 1524, 1525, 1613; J. Marquart, "Historische Glossen zu den Alttürkischen Inschriften" *WZKM*, XII (1898), pp. 181–182) has *Kürṣūl at-Turqaššī* = "*Kül čur* of the Türgeš", etc.

Č'orpan, then, corresponds to *Čolpan* of other dialects. *Čolpan:* Mamluk Qıpčaq (*at-Tuḥfat*, ed. Halasi-Kun, f. 30r) "star" (*Kitāb al-Idrāk*, ed. Caferoğlu, p. 31) "Zühre yıldızı" (Arabic text p. 45). With regard to the modern Turkic dialects, we may note that Radloff (III/2, p. 2025) gives *Čolpan*, Osm. = *Čolbon* "der Planet Venus", "der Ordensstern". Budagov (I, p. 459) has Čağ.: *čolpan*, Uyğ., Tač., *čolpan*, Alt. *čölbön–čolmon*, Qırğ. *šulpan*, Mong. *tselman* (*i*) "utrenniaia zvezda", (*ii*) "Venera". The word is also found in modern Qıpčaq dialects. The name might be compared with *Zόλβων*[566], a late fifth century "Hunnic" general in Byzantine service.

21. ČUL/ČULI (*ČUR?)

The eleventh century Byzantine historian John Scylitzes reports a vague Byzantino–Ruś–Khazar encounter in the year 1016. His brief notice is the following: "And the Emperor, having arrived in Constantinople, in the month of January, in the year 6524, sent a fleet led by Mongus, son of Andronicus duke of Lydus, to Khazaria and with the cooperation of Sphengus, the brother of Vladimir, the brother [brother-in-law p.g.] of the Emper-

[562] Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, pp. 286–288.

[563] Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, p. 18.

[564] Cited in Dunlop, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

[565] *See* Preobraženskii, *Etimologičeskii slovar'*, p. 90 (of second part) where he also cites Greek *σαράβαρα, σαράβαλλα, σκραπάραι.*

[566] Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 131.

or, he subjugated the region, the ruler of which, Georgius Tzulus, was taken captive in the first battle."[567]

Our difficulties with this notice lie in the identification of "Khazaria" and "Sphengus, the brother of Vladimir" (the latter undoubtedly is the Ruś prince Vladimir I who was, indeed, the brother-in-law of Basil II, the Byzantine emperor). Vernadsky has identified "Khazaria" with the Crimea (later Greek sources do indeed call the Crimea *Χαζαρία*[568]) and believes that "Sphengus" is Mstislav,[569] son of Vladimir and brother of Iaroslav who eventually succeeded to the throne of Kiev. There is firm evidence for Mstislav's activity in the south-eastern borderlands of Kievan Ruś. The Russian Chronicle mentions his presence in Tmutorokań in 1022 from whence he attacked the Kasogians (Čerkes) and defeated their prince, Rededia, in single combat. The following year found him marching on Iaroslav with Khazar and Kasogian allies.[570] The appearance of Khazars in his army not long after 1016 may very well have been the result of the joint Byzantine–Ruś subjugation of "Khazaria" in 1016. None of this, however, aids us in locating the whereabouts of "Khazaria". Even if Mstislav is "Sphengus" (the Byzantine account is confused for he would be the son of Vladimir not his brother — we know of no brother of Vladimir named Sphengus — moreover, Vladimir was dead by this time), it is still not clear where we must seek "Khazaria". We know from the Ruś Chronicle that Mstislav was in Tmutorokań (*Ταματάρχα* of the Greek sources, located, probably, in the present day Taman peninsula[571] and perhaps connected, as Marquart believes, with *سكوش اليهود of ibn al-Faqīh[572] and S. m. k. r. ṣ of Joseph's letter[573]) from at least 989[574] and was in a position to intervene in Crimean affairs, if the events of 1016 were indeed played out there.

Moravcsik, basing himself on an eleventh century seal with the name/title *τζουλα* on it found in Xerson and addressed to the *protospatharius* and *strategus* of that city, favors the identification of "Khazaria" with the

[567] Scylitzes-Cedrenus (Bonn ed.), II, p. 464. The Vienna and Vatican Mss. below and Plates 103–104 have: *βλαδιμηροῦ τοῦ γαμβροῦ* (brother-in-law, etc.) *τοῦ βασιλέως* which is to be preferred to the *ἀδελφοῦ* of the Bonn edition.

[568] Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 334.

[569] Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, p. 75.

[570] *PSRL*, I, p. 147.

[571] Németh, *HMK*, p. 81; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 297; W. Tomaschek, *Die Goten in Taurien* (Vienna, 1881), p. 24.

[572] Ibn al-Faqīh, ed. de Goeje, p. 271 (*see* there de Goeje's comments).

[573] Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 163.

[574] In that year Vladimir gave him Tmutorokań (*see PSRL*, IX, p. 57) to act as his (Vladimir's) governor in the area.

Crimea.[575] Artamonov follows this view adding some considerations of his own. He sees in "Georgius Tzulus" a Christian (hence the name Georgius) Khazar: "who, in all likelihood, was descended from an aristocratic Khazar, or more probably Bulğar clan, but who was in Byzantine service and received the important rank of protospatharius and the administration of Byzantine possessions in the Crimea where there lived, from early times, a considerable number of christianized Khazars and (black) Bulğars." Crimea, again according to Artamonov, was called *Khazaria* because of the large numbers of (Christian) Khazars living there. A remnant, however, of the Khazar state did not exist there.[576] Christianity found, no doubt, a number of converts among the mixed population of the Khazar state. The *Notitiae Episcopatuum* speak of the city Ἀστήλ (*Ătil?), an episcopate subject to the metropolitanate of Doros.[577] The Slavonic *Life of St. Stephan of Surož* mentions a Khazar named *Iurii Tarxan*. The latter, as his name indicates, was undoubtedly a Christian,[578] even though he may have been the Khazar ruler of the Crimea at this time (early ninth century).

Dunlop suggests that the Byzantine–Ruś expedition had the Caucasus as its main target.[579] This is not impossible, for Mstislav, operating out of Tmutorokań, could just as easily move on the Caucasus (long a refugium for vanquished peoples) as on the Crimea. His later association with the Kasogs (the Čerkes of the North Caucasus) as well as with the Khazars would seem to point to intimate ties with the Caucasus.

Moravcsik's argument (based on the presumption that "τζοῦλος" and τζουλα are one and the same) does not seem particularly cogent to me. He is undoubtedly correct in suggesting that τζουλα = Oğuric *ǰula (cf. Hung. *gyula*) = Com. Turk. *yula* (Németh mentions: *är atım yula*[580]) but there is

[575] Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 314. This view is quite old in the literature on the subject. Tomaschek, in 1881, suggested the Crimea as the scene for the events of 1016. He proposed Solqat or Eski Qrım as the seat of Khazar power (*see* Tomaschek, *Die Goten in Taurien*, pp. 38–39). Levčenko [M. V. Levčenko, *Očerki po istorii russko-vizantiiskix otnošenii* (Moskva, 1956), pp. 383–384] considers the Crimea the last stronghold of the Khazar state.

[576] Artamonov, *op. cit.*, pp. 436–437.

[577] *See* C. de Boor, "Nachträge zu den Notitiae episcopatuum" *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XII (1891).

[578] "Žitie sv. Stefana Surožskago", ed. V. G. Vasilevskii, *Letopiś zaniatii arxeografičeckoi Kommisii*, vyp. 9, p. 252.

[579] Dunlop, *op. cit.*, p. 252. This view has, apparently, been taken up by the new *Cambridge Medieval History* (IV/1, p. 189, the Gregoire–Jenkins article on the Amorian and Macedonian dynasties).

[580] Németh, *HMK*, p. 45.

no evidence for *τζοῦλος = τζουλα*. The rules of Greek grammar are of but slight help here. *Τζουλα* can be treated in three ways in Greek: as a (1) feminine and declined as such, as (2) an indeclinable noun or it can be (3) "masculinized" (it would then appear as **ὁ τζουλας cf. gyula = ὁ γυλᾶς* but declined *τὸν γυλᾶν*. To masculinize it, *ς* would have to be added. This is not seen in *τζουλα* or in any of the later forms from the sixteenth century: *τζουλα . . . τζουλαβητη* cited in Moravcsik[581]).

The Bonn edition of Scylitzes (Scylitzes-Cedrenus, ed. Bekker, II, p. 464) has: *Γεωργίου τού τζούλου*

MSS: 1. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek Hist. Gr. 35, f. 132r, line 19: *Γεωργίου τοῦ τζούλη* (Plate 103)

2. Vatican 977, f. 287r, lines 20–21: *Γεοργίου τοῦ τζούλη* (Plate 104)

*Pronunciation: *čul (*čur?), čulı, čüli?*

Comments: Zajączkowski[582] following the Bonn ed. reading, suggested that *τζούλος* stood for *čur* (Radloff, III/2, p. 2172) "eine hohe Beamtenwürde".[583] Doerfer comments on the *čur*s: "Sie waren nicht unbedingt Angehörige des Herrscherhauses und auch nicht im Besitze einer selbständigen Armee, sondern standen an der Spitze der Bäge eines von einem *yabğu* oder *šad* verwalteten Reichsteils."[584] Among the Western Kök Türks, the title *čur* was associated with the left wing of the nation, composed of the five "arrows" *(oq)* of the Dulo. Each of the *oq* was ruled by a *čur*. This system was put into practice by Sha-po-lo tie-li the Qağan in 635, but it is simply another aspect of the dyadic principle of administration.[585] Unfortunately, it is by no means clear, whether *τζούλος* or *τζούλη* is the original form. If *τζούλος* is, indeed, the original, we can, without hesitation, follow Zajączkowski. The two Scylitzes manuscripts which I examined (both of which are quite old, the Vienna MS coming from the twelfth century and the Vatican MS stemming from the thirteenth century) do not confirm this reading. In these texts, it is presented as an indeclinable (foreign)

[581] Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 314. *See also* Gyóni, *A magyar nyelv görög feljegyzéses szórványemlékei*, p. 43 who connects *γυλᾶς – Dulo-* and *τζούλος*.

[582] Zajączkowski, *Ze studiów*, pp. 41–42.

[583] *See* also Rásonyi, *DTT*, p. 92.

[584] Doerfer, *TMEN*, II, p. 396.

[585] Chavannes, *Documents*, pp. 27, 34. The title *čur* later appeared amongst the Hungarians as a personal name: *suur, sur* (*see* Z. Gombocz, "Az *Oslu* nemzetségnév eredete" *MNy*, XX (1924), p. 24).

noun: τζούλη which can be pronounced as either *čuli or perhaps *čüli, the meaning of which is unclear. Until new readings based on older MSS come to light, it would be judicious to refrain from speculations regarding the etymology of τζούλη ~ τζούλος.

22. HAZĀR ṬARXĀN

In his notice on the advance of Marwān's army into Khazar territory on the Volga in 737, Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī mentions a Khazar military commander called Hazār Ṭarxān. The latter led a force of forty-thousand "sons of Ṭarxāns" (probably a select guard composed of noblemen) who were sent out by the Qağan to halt the Arabs. One of Marwān's commanders, Kawthar, surprised this Hazār Ṭarxān while the latter, with a small party of retainers, was hunting and killed him and his followers. The complete rout of Hazār Ṭarxān's army soon followed. This disaster induced the Qağan to sue for peace, part of the terms of which were the conversion of the Qağan to Islam.[586] This conversion was, of course, short-lived, for the Qağan's devotion to Islam could only be sustained by the presence of an Arab army.

Sources

Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Kitāb al-Futūḥ*

MS: Istanbul Topkapı, III Ahmet Kütüphanesi 2956/II, f. 194r, line 14: هزار طرخان *Hazār Ṭarxān* (Plate 105)
f. 194v, line 9, 11 & 12: *Hazār Ṭarxān* (Plate 106)

Bal'amī

MSS: 1. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. Pers. 162A, f. 212v, line 3, 4, 5: *Hazār Tarxān* (Plate 107)
2. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. Pers. 166, f. 649r, last line: *Hazār Ṭarxān* (Plate 108)
3. Oxford, Bodleian, Fraser 131, f. 515r, lines 23, 25: *Hazār Ṭarxān* (Plate 109); f. 515v, line 1: *Hazār Ṭarḫān* (Plate 110)

[586] Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, pp. 296–302 for text and translation of Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī. Bal'amī (*see, Chronique de Ṭabarī*, IV, p. 284) also relates this incident. Ṭabarī's text does not mention *Hazār Ṭarxān*.

Pronunciation: Hazār Ṭarxān

Comments: Hazār is clearly the Persian *hazār* "thousand". Rásonyi notes that names of number are common to both the Iranian and Turkic world and amongst the Turks both Iranian and Turkic elements are often mixed *(cf. Inal Dahhazār)*. A pure Iranian name of number may be seen in *Čahārkas*. Turkic names of number are of the type *Minyašar, Beštigin, Besbek, Onbay, Altıbars* etc.[587] Justi cites a number of Iranian names containing the numeral "thousand": *Hazār, Hazār Dinari, Hazārān, Hazārāsp, Hazārāsf* (an Arabized version of the latter), *Hazāravuxt, Hazārbandah*.[588] This particular numeral is also very common in Turkic names (where it is *Bin, Min, Ming, Mın* etc.). Examples cited by Rásonyi are the Qazaq names *Mınjasar* (= *Minyašar* cited above) "il vit mille (ans)", *Mınbay, Menbay, Minbay*, Qırğız *Mingbay* and the diminutive forms *Miney, Minka, Mınča, Mıngča, Mıńke*, Baškir *Mıngat* (= Persian *Hazārasp*).[589] Amongst the Mamluks we have *Minṭaš*.[590] Rásonyi also notes the use of these numerals with titles. Thus Ṭabarī reports a *M.nkǰūr* = **Mingčur*.[591] Perhaps *Hazār Ṭarxān* is formulated along this line. It may either be a translation of the Turkic *Bin/Min* or simply a Persian word (used in imitation of the latter? One must remember that Iranian influence was strong in Khazaria, particularly from Xwarizm and Sassanid Persia) borrowed for use in this name.

23. (I)BUZ(S)ER GLIABAN(R)

This is the name of the Khazar Qağan who played an active role in the events surrounding Justinian II's return to power in 705 and the subsequent revolt that led to the latter's second deposition (and finally death). The name is found in an eighth century Byzantine manuscript (given in Moravcsik as *Anonymous Byzantine Chronicle* composed between 742 and 746).[592]

[587] Rásonyi, "Les noms de nombre dans l'anthroponymie turque" *AOH*, XII (1961), pp. 46–48. *See also* T. Žanŭzaqov, "San esimnen jasalğan jalqı esimder" in *Issledovaniia po tiurkologii*, ed. M. B. Balakaev (Balaqaev) et al. (Alma-Ata, 1969).

[588] Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* (Marburg, 1895), p. 127.

[589] Rásonyi, "Les noms de nombre . . ." *AOH*, XII (1961), pp. 60–70.

[590] Sauvaget, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

[591] Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, III, pp. 1301–1305, 1315. *See* Rásonyi, "Les noms de nombre . . ." *AOH*, XII (1961), pp. 69–70.

[592] Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 136.

Sources

Anonymous Byzantine Chronicle

The text may be found in two editions: Georgius Codinus (Bonn ed.), pp. 166–167: *βουσήρον Γλιαβάρον*

Preger, *Scriptores*, I, pp. 19–20 (*see also* Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 136): *Ἰβουζήρος Γλιαβάνος, Ἰβουζήρον Γλιαβάνου, ἡ βουζήρου Γλιαβάνου, Πλιαβάρου*

MS: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 1336, f. 118v, lines 25–26: *ἠβουζήρου, γλιαβάρου* (Plate 111); f. 119r, line 2: *πλιαβάρου* (Plate 112)

Pronunciation and Comments: The forms here are obviously defective. Hence, any comments made on the basis of these readings are to be taken as suggestions. Certain elements appear constant: *βουσηρ/βουζηρ* and *Γλιαβ.ρ/Γλιαβ.ν.ηρ* may reflect either *är* "man" (*buz/bus är* "ice-man", *boz/bos är* "gray man" etc. are not, however, very likely) or the aorist ending *-ar/-är, -ır/-ir* (*cf. bozar* < *boz-* Radloff, IV/2, 1682 Osm. "verderben", "zerbrechen", "verletzen", *buz-* IV/2, 1866–7 OT. Qum. Qır. Qar. = *boz-*) = "the destroyer" (*cf.* the name of a Turkish emir *Πουζανός* in Anna Comnena[593] or *Buzan* the name of a 10th century Bulgar chieftain[594]).

With regard to the second element, *πλιαβάρου* is probably a *lapsus calami* for *Γλιαβάρου*. The latter form may mask **Γιαλβαρ* (*[cf. μπλιγούρι/πλιγούρι* ~ *μπλουγουρι* = Turk. *bulgur*; Asia Minor Greek *Γλέχι* = Turk. *yağlak, γουλτώνω* for *γλυτώνω* etc.[595]) = *Yalbar* (Radloff, III/1, 187 Qom. Qaz. Tel. Alt. Uig. Qar. L. (*i*) "inständig bitten", "flehen", (*ii*) "beten", "ein Opfer darbringen" Alt. Tel. = Osm. *yalvar*).

Zajączkowski[596] has suggested that *Ἰβουζήρος Γλιαβάρυς* etc. = **Bāzir Yılbars*. Given the muddled state of our source, almost any reasonable reconstruction is possible.

[593] *See* Anna Comnena, *Alexiade*, ed. trans. B. Leib (reprint Paris, 1967), II, pp. 64, 74–78.

[594] *See* Paulus Diaconus, *Historiae Romanae*, ed. H. Droysen in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* II (Berlin, 1878), pp. 213–4.

[595] N. P. Andriōtē, *Etymologiko leksiko tēs koinēs neoellēnikēs* (Thessalonika, 1967), pp. 219, 221; R. M. Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor* (Cambridge, 1916), pp. 593–594.

[596] Zajączkowski, *Ze studiów*, pp. 40–41.

24. YİLİG (< İLİG ~ İLİK)

Yāqūt, the thirteenth century Arab author has a section of his work *Mu'jam al-Buldān* devoted to the Khazars.[597] Much of his material is taken directly from Ibn Faḍlān and Iṣṭaxrī.[598] Indeed, throughout the greater part of his account he quotes directly from Ibn Faḍlān. Yāqūt gives us the form under consideration here in that part of his notice which is most indebted to Iṣṭaxrī. A comparison of Iṣṭaxrī and Yāqūt clearly shows that either Yāqūt used Iṣṭaxrī's account and somewhat muddled it or he used the same source that formed the basis for Iṣṭaxrī's notice (Balxī) but put in some information Iṣṭaxrī omitted while at the same time leaving out elements preserved by Iṣṭaxrī.

Iṣṭaxrī (ed. de Goeje, p. 220):

ويسمّى الملك بلسانهم بك و يسمّى ايضًا باك

Yāqūt (*Mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, II, p. 437):

ويسمّى الملك بلسانهم يلك و يسمّى ايضًا باك

"...and the king is called in their language بك (**bek* Iṣṭaxrī)/يلك (*y.l.k* Yāqūt) and he is also called باك (**bāk*)."

The باك form found in al-Iṣṭaxrī, garbled in Ibn Ḥawqal and confused in Yāqūt is, in my view, a corruption of يلك. For a full argumentation, see my article "The Q'azaro–Hungarian title/personal name يلك ~ *'Iέλεχ*" *AEMAe* I (1975).

The manuscripts of Yāqūt clearly confirm يلك.

Sources

Yākūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*

MSS: 1. Oxford, Bodleian, Marsh 132, f. 47v, line 20: يلك (Plate 85)
2. London, British Museum 16,649, f. 384v, line 16: يلك (Plate 86)
3. London, British Museum 23,371, f. 144r, line 33: يلك (Plate 87)
4. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 2228, f. 105r, line 16: يلك (Plate 88)
5. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 6601, f. 126r, line 14: يلك (Plate 89)

[597] Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, II, pp. 436–440.
[598] Dunlop, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

6. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek 6040, f. 75v, line 1 : يلك (Plate 12)
7. Istanbul, Topkapı, III Ahmet Kütüphanesi, 2715, f 77r, line 5 : يلك (Plate 90)
8. Istanbul, Köprülü, 1163, f. 69r, line 13 : يلك (Plate 91)

In addition, al-Qazwīnī (and al-Bakūwī who copies him) follow another tradition [*see* al-Qazwīnī, *Kosmographie*, ed. von Wüstenfeld, II, p. 393 and *ʿAbdar-Rašid al-Bakūvī, Kitāb Talχīs al-Aṣār va ʿAdžā'ib al-Malik al Ḳaxxār*, facs. ed. trans. Z. M. Buniatov (Moskva, 1971) f. 66b]: ولهم [the Khazars p.g.] ملك عظم يسمى يلك:

Pronunciation: يلك is probably to be pronounced **yilik* ~ **yilig* or **yelekʿ* ~ *yeleğ*.

Comments: **yilik*/**yilig* is a variant of *ilik*/*älig* (Radloff, I/1, p. 816) Uyğ. ايليك، اليك "der Herrscher", "der Fürst". (*See also* Caferoğlu, *Uyg. sözl.*, pp. 71, 92 *älig, ilig* "hükümdar", "kral".) Our form can be seen in the name (as reported by Constantinus Porphyrogenitus[599]) of the second son of Árpád *ʾIélεχ (*yeleğ)*. Gombocz derives the placename *Üllő* (in Pest county) from **ilig, *elig*. He considers it a Khazar loanword[600] coming from *ʾIélεχ*.

Üllő, indeed, derives from an original *ilig* ~ *elig* which is the more usual form of the title under consideration. *Üllő*, however, cannot derive from يلك ~ *ʾIélεχ* as the loss of initial *y-* cannot be explained. *Üllő* may have been borrowed from a Khazar (or other Turkic language spoken in the Khazar state) dialect which had the form *ilig* ~ *elig*. I have discussed this fully in my article cited above.

İlik is a popular element in Turkic personal names *(cf.* Uyğur : *İlig Xan, İlig Bay, Kün toğdı älik)*. The name should also be compared with that of a Sabir general *ʷIλιγεϱ*.[601] Németh mentions the son of Attila, *Ilek (Illac)* and connects this name with the Baškir personal name *Ilāk* and the Uyğur *ilig*. The name was also prominent among the Qaraxanids.[602]

[599] Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *DAI* (Bonn ed.), p. 175 ; Moravcsik–Jenkins, ed. p. 178.

[600] Z. Gombocz, „Árpádkori török személyneveink" *MNy*, XI (1915), pp. 436–437.

[601] Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 138.

[602] Németh, *HMK*, p. 134. For the Qaraxanids, *see* O. Pritsak, "Die Karachaniden" *Der Islam*, XXXI (1953–1954), p. 18.

25. İR-TİGİN (İL-TİGİN)

Movsēs Dasxuranc'i, in his *History of the Caucasian Albanians* speaks of one of the chieftains of Alp' iłut'uēr named ***Il-Tigin*** of Xorasan or Xursan.

Sources

Movsēs Dasxuranc'i

Dowsett gives the following readings: zirt'ginn xurasanay, Zirt'ginn Xorasanaç, Zert'ginn Xorsanaç, Zirt'ginn Xursanaç, zIrt'ginn Xursanç, zErt'ginn Xursanaç, zert'ginn Xurasanaç.[603]

The Emin edition gives only (p. 297): *Իրթգին խուրսանց (Irt'gin Xursanc')*

MS: British Museum OR 5261, f. 186v, line 9: *զիրթգինն խուրսանաց (Zirt'ginn Xursanac'* = "the Irt'gin of Xursan") (Plate 33); f. 188v, line 17: *Զիթգինն խուրսան (Zit'ginn Xursan* — with omission of *ր*) (Plate 101)

Pronunciation: Dowsett proposes the reading ***il Tigin*** (another example *r* ∼ *l* oscillation?). *Իրթգին*, however, may just as easily stand for ***Er tigin/tegin*** (*er* "man" in the Turkic dialects is a common feature of Turkish personal names). For the meaning of *il*, *see* above, *Alp' iłut'uēr*.

Comments: Tigin/tegin (Radloff, III/1, p. 1034) OT., تكين ،تيكين Čağ. "ist gewiss *täggin* (s.d.) zu sprechen, vergl. *täkkin* = *tegin* 'die höchste Würde', 'Prinz'." Mongol has the form *čigin* (Mong. *či* = Turk. *ti*). Kononov writes of *tegin*: "It is known that the word *tegin/tigin* was, even in the eighth century, a title which only the relatives of the Turkic Xans bore."[604] László notes that this title (which, in his opinion, made its first appearance among the Hepthalites)[605] was employed only by immediate male relatives of the Qağan. Later it acquired a somewhat broader meaning (it at no time implied any specific duties[606]) to include princes of ruling families subordinate to the Qağan, but not of the royal family.[607] According to Gumilëv, the title *tigin* was given only to heirs to the throne regardless of other duties or

[603] Dasxuranc'i, *History*, trans. Dowsett, p. 168.

[604] *Rodoslovnaia Turkmen*, ed. trans. Kononov, p. 97, n. 127. Rásonyi, *DTT*, p. 92 concurs with this view.

[605] *See also* Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*, pp. 113–114; Bosworth, *Ghaznavids*, p. 206.

[606] Doerfer (*TMEN*, II, p. 393) has the *tegin* as the "Stellvertreter des Chans".

[607] László, "A kagán és családja", pp. 31, 35.

responsibilities.[608] Chinese sources (the *Chu-shu*) report: "The T'u küe have as high offices the ye-hu *(yabğu)*, the še *(šad)* and the t'e-le *(tegin)* . . . [to which the *T'ung-tien* adds] . . . their [the royal family p.g.] sons and brothers are called t'e-le . . ."[609]

Hungarian has preserved this name in placenames and in Medieval Hungarian personal names [*cf.* Tétény, Budatétény, etc. the form *tétény* going back to **tiğitim* (*tigit* = Ancient Turkic plural of *tigin* + *-im* first person singular possessive suffix) – **tühütüm* – **tëhëtëm* – **tëëtem* – **tétém* – *tétény*)].[610]

We have seen that *Tägin/Tigin*, at least in the early stages of Turkic history (this would include the Khazar period), was an extremely high dignitary, either a close blood relative of the Qağan or a prince of a conquered tribe. We must now determine what was the area over which Ałpʿ iłutʿuēr's chieftain was the *tigin*. Dowsett suggests that "Xurasanay", "Xorsanacʿ" etc. is Xorasan[611] that rich and fabled province of Eastern Persia, the setting for the struggles between Iran and Turan. This identification is impossible for a number of reasons: (*i*) the Khazars never held Xorasan (nor did the Kök Türks). (*ii*) If they had, the ruler of that province would hardly have been a subordinate of Ałpʿ Iłutʿuēr, himself only a provincial governor. We must seek closer to home, namely the North Caucasus. Minorsky, in his commentary to the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, mentions an area Xursan (for which we have several readings: Xorsan-acʿ, Xursan-acʿ, Xursan-cʿ) between Darband (Bāb al-Abwāb) and Sharvan, near the Caucasus mountains.[612] This was in the heart of the North Caucasus Hunnic country and very probably the area over which our man was *tigin*. We have no way of determining whether this *tigin* was a member of the Khazar royal family (as Ałpʿ iłutʿuēr himself may have been) or one of a series of vassal families (the former ruling families) of the area.

26. ǰABĞU

The Caucasian sources (Movsēs Dasxurancʿi and the Georgian Chronicle of Juaṅšer) both describe the 627–628 Khazar raids into Transcaucasia where they appeared as the allies of the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius in

[608] Gumilëv, *Drevnie tiurki*, p. 53.

[609] Liu Mau-tsai, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 8–9, p. 498, n. 49; Giraud, *op. cit.*, p. 76. *See also* Doerfer, *TMEN*, II, p. 395.

[610] J. Melich, "Két állītólagos honfoglaláselőtti német helynévről" *MNy*, XXVII (1931), pp. 221, 223–224.

[611] Dasxurancʿi, *History*, trans. Dowsett, p. 168.

[612] Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, p. 411.

his famous counter-attack against the Persian Empire. One result of this alliance was the Khazar siege of Tbilisi so vividly described by Movsēs Dasxuranc'i. The Georgian source does not refer to the Khazars by name. It simply states that Heraclius called for the Turks from the West ("T'urk'ni moiqvana dasavlet'idan eraklem").[613] The latter were then left before Tbilisi with their *erist'avi*, *J̌ibğa*, to besiege the city.[614] We know from a comparison of the accounts of Movsēs Dasxuranc'i and Theophanes (where *J̌ibğa* is called *J̌ebu Xak'an* and *Ζιέβηλ* respectively) with Juanšer's chronicle that all three are one and the same person. Indeed, *J̌ibğa/J̌ebu/Ζιέβηλ* is probably the Yabğu Qağan, the ruler of the Western Kök Türks and the Khazars (Artamonov identifies him with Mo-ho-šad, the younger brother of T'ong Yabğu who was ruler of the Western Kök Türkic state.[615] The latter became Qağan not later than 618[616]). Whether the name *J̌ibğa/J̌ebu* is to be considered philologically the same as *Ζιέβηλ* (Moravcsik, Czeglédy and Menges do[617]) is another question.

The titles of various Turkic rulers in the late sixth and early seventh centuries are strikingly alike:

Byzantine forms: Σπαρζενγοῦν [Theophylactus Simocatta (Bonn ed.), p 259 = **Išbara J̌abğu*[618]], *Σιλζίβουλος* [Menander (Bonn ed.), pp. 296, 399, 427 = **Sir J̌ibu* + *l*[619]], *Ζιέβηλ* [Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, I, p. 316; Cedrenus, *Hist Comp.* (Bonn ed.) I, p. 728 = **J̌iābē* + *l*[620]].

[613] *K'art'lis C'xovreba*, I, p. 223. This should be compared with Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, p. 315, where they are called "the Turks from the East who are called Khazars".

[614] *K'art'lis C'xovreba*, I, p. 225.

[615] Artamonov, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

[616] Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 263.

[617] Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 130; K. Czeglédy, „Herakleios török szövetségesei" *MNy*, XLIX (1953), pp. 319–320. Menges, *The Turkic Languages and Peoples*, p. 88.

[618] *See* H. W. Haussig, "Theophylakts Exkurs über die skythischen Völker" *Byzantion*, XXIII (1953), pp. 318, 373, 379 who suggests *Σπαρζενγοῦν* = **Sparsängun*. Pritsak, "Stammesnamen und Titulaturen der Altaischen Völker" *UAJb*, XXIV (1952), p. 89 and Czeglédy, "Herakleios török szövetségesei" *MNy*, XLIX (1953), p. 319 opt rather for *jabğu/*jevğu* + *n* (*cf.* Uyğur: *Yapğun*).

[619] *See* Pritsak, "Stammesnamen" *UAJb*, XXIV (1952), p. 89. The forms *Διζάβουλος* and *Διλζίβουλος* found in the Bonn edition of Menander are mistakes (*see* Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 276). Marquart identifies *Σιλζίβουλος* etc. with قراجورين of Naršaxī, سنجبو etc. = Ištämi Qağan. *See* his *Wehrot und Arang* (Leiden, 1938), pp. 143ff.

[620] Pritsak, "Stammesnamen" *UAJb*, XXIV (1952), p. 89.

Arab form: سنجبو[621] = **Sinǰibū.*

Pehlevi forms: (Sin) *J̌ēpīk*,[622] *J̌abbū*, *Sinǰēpūk*.[623]

All of the above are probably reflections of one and the same title: *yabğu/ǰabğu*. The *λ* found in the Byzantine forms remains unexplained as does the *-ν* of *-ζενγοῦν*. It is on this basis (the possibility that *Ζιέβηλ*, who is certainly one and the same person as our *J̌ibğa* and *J̌ebu*, may be a variant form[624] of the title or a personal name derived from this title) that I have placed *Ζιέβηλ* elsewhere in the Word list *(see* below *Ziebēl)*.

Sources

K'art'lis C'xovreba

I, p. 225 : *J̌ibğa*, variant : *J̌ibğaa* p. 375 : *J̌ibğu*.

Movsēs Dasxuranc'i

Emin ed., pp. 153, 158, 160, 183, 194 : *Ջեբու խաքան (J̌ebu Xak'an)*.

MS : British Museum OR 5261 ; f. 92r, line 6 ; f. 95v, line 19 ; f. 97v, line 10 ; f. 120v, line 1 : *Ջեբու խաքան (J̌ebu Xak'an)* (Plates 113, 114, 115, 117) ; f. 113v, line 8 *J̌ebu Xan-a* (Plate 116)

Pronunciation: The initial *ǰ* of our sources is certain.

Comments: We have here in its Oğuric form (? compare these forms with the non-Oğuric جَبْغُويه *J̌abğūyah* reported by Ibn Xurdādhbih as the title of the rulers of the Qarluqs.[625] The title in this form *جبغويه was also known to the Oğuz.[626] The *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* gives both *J̌abğūy* and *Yabğū* for the title of the kings of the Qarluqs "in the days of old".[627] Müller records the form *Žabğū* from an Uyğur Manichaean document[628]), the Turkic title *Yabğu* (Radloff, III/1, p. 286, OT) "die höchste Würde nach dem Tegin".

[621] Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, I, p. 895.

[622] Czeglédy, "Herakleios török szövetségesei" *MNy*, XLIX (1953), p. 319.

[623] Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang*, p. 143.

[624] Pritsak attempts to explain these differences through the use of various suffixes. The problem remains, however, far from clear (*see*, Pritsak, "Stammesnamen" *UAJb*, XXIV (1952), pp. 88–89).

[625] Ibn Xurdādhbih, ed. de Goeje, p. 16.

[626] *See* al-Bīrūnī, *Athar al-Baqīyah*, ed. Sachau, p. 101 and P. Golden, "Migrations of the Oğuz" *Archivum Ottomanicum*, IV (1972), p. 51, n. 26.

[627] Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, p. 97.

[628] Müller, "Ein Doppelblatt", p. 11.

Yapqu (Radloff, III/1, p. 267, Uyğ.) "eine hohe Würde". Caferoğlu's *Eski Uygur Türkçesi sözlüğü* (p. 220) mentions the name *Yapğun* which is probably based on the title. Maḥmūd Kāšğarī[629] shows that this title, in his day (eleventh century) was still considered a high dignity: يَفْغُو *Yafğu*- "a title given to someone two degrees lower than the Qağan". The title itself, though it appears very early in Altaic history is a loanword; perhaps of Iranian origin: Kushan, Saka *Yavuga* < *yam* "command", "lead".[630] Marquart, Bang and Barthold opt for the Toxarian origin of this word.[631] The title (so Németh) was known to the Hiung-nu in the form *hiepho* as we have it transcribed in the Chinese sources.[632] Menges, however, disagrees: "There seems to be little doubt that *yabğu* is identical with the title mentioned in Chinese sources as 單 于, Archaic Chin. **d'yan-ɣi̯wo*, Ancient Chin. **źyän-yi̯u* (Kalgren, *Grammata Serica*, nos 147a', b', 97a), Modern Chin. *šan-yü* first attested as having been in use with the Huns, then with the Žuan-žuan-Avars and finally with the Uygurs. In pre-literary Turkic, it may have had the form *ďabğu*."[633] The Wu-sun (believed to be Iranians[634]), K'ang K'iü (Soğdians) and the Yüe-chih also used this title.[635] Amongst the Turkic tribes, the title was known to the Kök Türks, Uyğurs, Khazars, Qarluqs and Oğuz.

The title *Yabğu* appears to have had special significance for the Western Kök Türks whose rulers bore it as both a name and a title.[636] In the Kök Türk hierarchy, the Yabğu was much like the Šad, though his duties are not as well defined in the sources. Gumilëv notes that the *Yabğu* was "the highest rank after the Xan".[637] In general, the *Yabğu* ruled a separate tribe or part of the state (this was perhaps the case with the Khazars over whom a Kök Türkic *Yabğu* was placed). The title was usually kept within the royal Kök Türkic clan (Ašina) but was, on occasion, granted to non-members (generally rulers of areas subjugated by the Kök Türks[638]).

[629] Kāšğarī, *Divan*, ed. Atalay, p. 458; *Divan Tercümesi*, trans. Atalay, III, p. 32.
[630] Kliaštornyi, *op. cit.*, p. 111.
[631] *See* László, "A kagán és családja", p. 31.
[632] Németh, *HMK*, p. 149.
[633] Menges, *The Turkic Languages and Peoples*, p. 88.
[634] Eberhard, *Çin'in şimal komşuları*, p. 105.
[635] László, "A kagán és családja", p. 31.
[636] Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 38, n. 5; László, "A kagán és családja", p. 37.
[637] Gumilëv, *Drevnie tiurki*, p. 53.
[638] László, "A kagán és családja", pp. 32, 36–37.

27. *JĀWAŠĪĞAR

Ibn Faḍlān in his report on his trip to the land of the Volga Bulğars, provides us with many bits and pieces of information which we do not encounter in any other source. For example, in describing the Khazar government he speaks of a tetrapartite hierarchical pyramid at the top of which stood the Qağan or "Great Qağan" and at the lowest scale of which we find the *J̌āwšīğar* deputy to the **Kündür Qağan* who is deputy to the *Qağan* **Bek* who in turn was the subordinate (legally, but in reality he was the *de facto* ruler) of the Great Qağan.

Unfortunately, the part of the manuscript (Mašhad MS) which contains this notice is missing. We must rely on Yāqūt who reproduces much of Ibn Faḍlān's account.

Sources

Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*

ed. Wüstenfeld, II, p. 438 : جاوشيغر *(J̌āwšīğ . r)*

MSS : 1. Oxford, Bodleian, Marsh 132, f. 48r, line 30 : جاوشيغرْ *(J̌āwašīğar)* (Plate 7)

2. London, British Museum, 16,649, f. 385r, line 18 : جاوشعير *(J̌āwš . ʿīr)* (Plate 8)
3. London, British Museum 23,371, f. 144v, line 8 : جاوشيعر *(J̌āwšī.ʿr)* (Plate 9)
4. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 2228, f. 106v, line 15: *J̌āwšīğ . r* (Plate 76)
5. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 6601, f. 126v, line 24 : *J̌āwašīğar* (Plate 11)
6. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek 6040, f. 76r, line 4: *J̌āwšīğ . r* (Plate 79)
7. Istanbul, Topkapı, III Ahmet 2715, f. 78r, line 5 : *J̌āwšīğar* (Plate 80)
8. Istanbul, Köprülü 1163, f. 70r, line 10 : *J̌āwašīğar* (Plate 81)

Pronunciation: The Oxford, Paris (Bibl. Nat'l. 6601) and the two Istanbul manuscripts indicate **J̌āwašīğar*/**J̌āwašyīğar*.

Comments: Both Togan and Zajączkowski have suggested various emendations none of which are borne out by the manuscripts جاوشيغر is quite clearly the form ; Togan's جاولشغير and Zajączkowski's جارشغير,[639] in face of

[639] *See* Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, p. 261 and Zajączkowski, *Ze studiów*, p. 35.

the above, do not hold up. Initial ج (if it is ǰ and not č) might point towards Oğuric. The meaning and etymology of this word remain unclear.

28. QAĞAN

This is the title of the supreme Khazar ruler. It should be noted that this was a title not lightly assumed in the Altaic world for it implied rule over an empire.[640]

We have a great variety of sources for this word in Khazar.

Sources

Arabic

Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, p. 204 : خاقان *(Xāqān)*
Ibn Faḍlān (Kovalevskii facsimile text), p. 313 : *Xāqān*
Ibn Ḥawqal, ed. Kramers, II, pp. 395, 396 *Xāqān*, *Xāqān Xazar*
Ibn Xurdādhbih, ed. de Goeje, p. 16 : *Xāqān*
Iṣṭaxrī, ed. de Goeje, p. 224 : *Xāqān*
Ibn Rusta, ed. de Goeje, p. 139 : *Xāqān*
al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīx*, ed. Houtsma, I, p. 203 : *Xāqān*
Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, II, p. 438 : *Xāqān*

Armenian

Ł‌ewond, *Patmutʿiwn*, Ezeancʿ ed., pp. 17, 41, 101 : խազան *(Xakʿan)*
Movsēs Dasxurancʿi (Emin ed.), pp. 153, 158, 160, 183, 194, 282 : *Xakʿan*

Byzantine

Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, I, pp. 316, 372, 378–9, 407, 409, 426 : Χαγάνος
Nicephorus Patriarcha, *Breviarium* (Bonn ed.), pp. 46, 48 : Χαγάνος

Georgian

Kʿartʿlis Cʿxovreba, I, p. 249 : *Xakan*

Persian

Balʿami (Dorn, "Nachrichten ueber die Chazaren"), pp. 512, 516, 522, 523, 529 : *Xāqān*

[640] A classic example of this are the Qitan (*see* K. Wittfogel, C. S. Fēng, "History of Chinese Society — Liao (907–1125)" in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, new series (1946), vol. 36, p. 428).

Gardīzī, *Zayn al-Axbār* (*see* excerpts in *A magyar honfoglalás kútfői*, p. 152):
Xazar Xāqān
Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam (Tumanskii MS ed.), p. 38b: *Ṭarxān Xāqān*

Russian
Povest' vremiannyx let (*PSRL*, I, p. 65): каганъ

Hebrew
The Cambridge Document (Schechter, *op. cit.*, p. 206): קזר כגן (**Qazar Xağan*)

MSS

Arabic

The form of Qağan is everywhere uniform in the Arabic sources: خاقان (*Xāqān*)

Balādhurī
1. British Museum 23,263, f. 46v, line 14 (Plate 118)
2. Leiden, Rijksuniversiteit OR 340, f. 238r, lines 9 (Plate 119)

Ibn Faḍlān
ed. Kovalevskii, p. 313, lines 15, 16 (Plate 120)

Ibn Ḥawqal
1. Leiden, Rijksuniversiteit OR 314, p. 145, line 27, 29 (Plate 5); p. 146, lines 6, 12, 13 (Plate 122)
2. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 2214, f. 38v, lines 9, 10, 16, 18, 19 (Plate 123)
3. Istanbul, Topkapı, III Ahmet 3346, f. 108r, lines 16, 18, 23, 25, 26, 29, 30, 34, 36, 37 (Plate 6)

Ibn Xurdādhbih
1. Oxford, Bodleian, Huntington 433, f. 16r, line 7(Plate 125)
2. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 2213, f. 11r, last line (Plate 126)
3. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek 783, f. 10r, line 1 (Plate 127)

Iṣṭaxrī
1. Leiden, Rijksuniversiteit OR 3101, f. 42v, lines 19, 20, 21, 23 (Plate 128); f. 43r, lines 1, 3, 4 (Plate 129)
2. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek 6032, f. 94r, lines 11, 12, 15 (Plate 4)

Ibn Rusta
British Museum 23,378, f. 160r, last line (Plate 130)

al-Yaʿqūbī
Cambridge QQ10, f. 52v, line 15 (Plate 131)

Yāqūt

1. Oxford, Bodleian, Marsh 132, f. 48r, lines 24, 26, 29 (Plate 7); f. 48v, line 1 (Plate 75)
2. London, British Museum Add. 16,649, f. 385r, lines 14, 16, 18, 20 (Plate 8)
3. London, British Museum Add. 23,371, f. 144v, lines 5, 6, 8, 9 (Plate 9)
4. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 2228, f. 106v, lines 8, 11, 14 (Plate 76); f. 107r, line 1 (Plate 77)
5. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 6601, f. 126v, lines 18, 19, 21, 23 (Plate 11); f. 127r, line 1 (Plate 78)
6. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek 6040, f. 75v, lines 28, 29 (Plate 12); f. 76r, lines 1, 3, 6 (Plate 79)
7. Istanbul, Topkapı, III Ahmet 2715, f. 77v, lines 20, 21 (Plate 13); f. 78r, lines 2, 5, 8 (Plate 80)
8. Istanbul, Köprülü 1163, f. 70r, lines 5, 7, 10, 12 etc. (Plate 81)

(Xāqān) is also found (in this form) elsewhere in Yāqūt's work (*see* the passages dealing with **Kundāǰiq* for example). I have not listed them here as this would be a needless repetition of a form already well-known and attested in our source.

Ibn Aʿtham al-Kufī

Istanbul, III Ahmet 2956, vol. 2: numerous references *see* ff. 180r, 182v, 183r, 183v, 185r, 185v, 187r, 187v, 188r, 188v, 190v, 191r, 191v, 192r, 192v, 194r, 194v, 195r, 241v, 242r (Plates 59, 60, 61, 132, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 105, 106, 140, 40, 141)

Armenian

Ł ewond

Matenadaran 1902, f. 14r, line 17; f. 31r, lines 15–16; f. 31v, line 2; f. 98r, line 14: խաքան (*Xakʿan*) (Plates 142, 143, 34, 144)

Movsēs Dasxurancʿi

London, British Museum OR 5261, f. 92r, line 6; f. 95v, line 19; f. 97v, line 10; f. 120v, line 1; f. 177v, line 3: խաքան *(Xakʿan)* (Plates 113, 114, 115, 117, 30); f. 113v, line 8: *Xan* (Plate 116)

Byzantine

The Byzantine sources, like the Arab sources, have everywhere a fixed form for this word: *Χαγάνος (Xagan-os)*

Theophanes

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 1710, f. 256v, 307v, 308r, 310r, 312r, 313r, 313v, 314r, 314v, 343r, 345v *(see* Plates 145, 93, 94, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153)

I have not indicated the forms found in the Oxford (Christ Church 5) MS as they are everywhere the same as the above.

Nicephorus Patriarcha

1. London, British Museum Add. 19,390, f. 49r, lines 1–2: *Χαγανοις* (Plate 154)
2. Vatican 977, f. 197v, line 16: *Χαγάνοις* (Plate 155)

Persian

The Persian sources follow the graphic tradition of the Arabic sources in regard to *Qağan*. It is everywhere خاقان *(Xāqān)*.

Bal'amī

1. Oxford, Elliot 376, f. 341r, line 21 (Plate 41); f. 341v, next to last line, last line (Plate 156); f. 342r, line 1, line 2 from bottom (Plate 42); f. 342v, line 5 (Plate 43); f. 343r, lines 1, 7, 11, 20, 22 (Plate 44); f. 343v, lines 17, 18, 19, 24 (Plate 157); f. 344r, lines 2, 5, 6 (Plate 158); Fraser 131 is basically a repetition of Elliot 376 in this regard.
2. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Pers. 63, p. 552, line 12 (Plate 50); p, 554, lines 2, 13, 19 (Plate 159); p. 555, lines 3, 12 (Plate 51); p. 556, lines 21, 24 (Plate 160); p. 557, line 3 (Plate 161); p. 558, last line (Plate 162); p. 559, lines 4, 7, 9, 14 (Plate 163)
3. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Pers. Suppl. 162A and Pers. Suppl. 166 essentially repeat the above without any difference in the form of جاقان

Gardīzī

1. Cambridge 213, f. 190r, line 2 from bottom: خزر خاقان *(Xazar Xāqān)* (Plate 164)
2. Oxford, Ouseley 240, p. 473, lines 14, 15: خزر خاقان *(Xazar Xāqān)* (Plate 165)

Ḥudūd al-'Ālam

Rukopiś Tumanskogo, ed. Barthold, f. 38b, line 7 طرخان خاقان *(Ṭarxān Xāqān)* (Plate 23)

Hebrew

The Cambridge Document

Cambridge University Library T–S loan 38, p. 2, line 17 : קזר כגן *(Qazar Kağan)* (Plate 166)

Comments: Qağan (Radloff, II/1, p. 71) Uyğ. = *qa'an, qān, qan* "der Chan. Menges observes that in Old Turkic there was a 'bipartition of meaning between *qağan* and *qan*, taken over later by the Mongols in the Old Mongol form *qağan-xağan, xa'an*' 'supreme ruler' and *xan* 'local ruler' ".[641] The origin of the title is obscure. It was known to the Sien-pi and Žuan-žuan. László comments that the notices in the Chinese sources on the title *Qağan* are contradictory but he thinks that it may be of Sien-pi origin or was borrowed by them.[642]

29. QATUN

Some time around the year 760, the daughter (called *Qatun* in our sources : Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī and Łewond) of the Qağan *Bağatur, was married to the Arab governor of Armenia, Yazīd ibn 'Usaid as-Sulamī. The Qatun's death shortly afterwards served as the pretext for a series of Khazar raids into Transcaucasia. *Qatun* is a title, which in this case was used as a personal name.

Sources

Our sources, though of different origins, both concur in the form of this word.

Łewond

MS : Matenadaran 1902, f. 98v, line 1 : խաթուն *(Xat'un)* (Plate 38)
Łewond, *Patmut'iwn*, ed. Ezeanc', p. 132 : խաթուն *(Xat'un)*

Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī

MS : Istanbul, III Ahmet 2956, vol. 2, f. 241v, lines 13, 14 : خاتون *(Xātūn)* (Plate 40) ; f. 242r, lines 7, 8 : *Xātūn* (Plate 141)

Pronunciation: Armenian խ *(X)* and Arabic خ *(X)* often are used to represent Turkic *q* or *q'* (*see* above pp. 124–125). խաթուն and خاتون = *Xatun/ Qatun.*

[641] Menges, "Oriental Elements in the Igor' Tale", pp. 34–35. This view is not universally accepted.

[642] László, "A kagán és családja", pp. 1–4 ; Doerfer (*TMEN*, II, p. 370) suggests a Žuan-žuan (Ruan-ruan) origin.

Comments: *Qatun* (Radloff, II/1, p. 292) OT. "die Frau des Chans" = *Qatın* (Radloff, II/1, pp. 284–85) Qır., QQır., QazT., Qom., Qar. L. T. "eine verheirathete Frau", "die Frau", "Gemahlin" (*cf.* Osm. *kadın* "woman"). The word is probably of Soğdian origin *(xwt'ınh).*[643] In Hungarian, where it is a loanword from Turkic (Khazar?) we find *tatun* ($c > t$ a simple orthographic error).[644]

30. XAT'İRLİT'BĒR (*QADIR İL TĀBĀR)

Xat'irlit'bēr appears to be the name of the commander of one of the constituent hordes of the Khazar army c. 758–764, a period of Khazar raids into Transcaucasia. Łewond, our source for this name and a contemporary of the events described reports that the Qağan of the Khazars sent an army under the general Raž T'arxan (see *Ās Tarxan* of this list) of the "horde" (Arm. *gund*) of *Xat'irlit'bēr*. Presumably, *Xat'irlit'bēr* is the name of the ruler of this horde and not the name of the horde itself (Turkic tribes, in this period did not use personal names as tribal names).

Sources

Łewond

MS: Matenadaran 1902, f. 98v, line 9: խաբիրլիբբէրա *(Xat'irlit'bēr-a)* (Plate 38)

The two editions of Łewond's text (*see* Ezeanc' ed. p. 132 and Shahnazarian ed. cit. in Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 114) give identical readings: խաբիրլիբբերայ *Xat'irlit'ber* (*ay:* genitive ending).

Pronunciation: Turkic *q* or *q'*, as we have already noted (*see Q'azar* etc. above) is often transcribed by ق, χ and ב in Arabic, Greek and Hebrew

[643] In general *see*: Räsänen, *Versuch*, p. 157; Gabain, *ATG*, p. 309; L. Rásonyi, "Der Frauenname bei den Türkvölkern" *UAJb*, XXXIV (1962), p. 233 and the survey of the literature given by Frye in the commentary to his translation of Naršaxī (Frye, *The History of Bukhara*, pp. 110–111, n. 38). Most recently, O. I. Smirnova [*Očerki iz istorii Sogda* (Moskva, 1970)] has traced Turkic *xatun* (p. 41) to Soğdian *ǰwt'ynh* the wife of a *ǰwt'w (xuvatav)* = Xwar. *xvātāv*, Pers. *xudā* etc. She further comments that "Chinese and Muslim sources ... call Central Asian queens Xatun *(ǰ'ttwnh)* regardless of their origin (Turkic or Iranian)". Doerfer (*TMEN*, II, p. 370) proposes a Žuan-žuan origin.

[644] Gy. Györffy, "Török női méltóságnév a magyar kútfőkben" *MNy*, XLIX (1953), pp. 110–111.

respectively. ք is the Armenian aspirated *t*ʿ; but here it renders Turkic *d* (or more probably as we shall see below *ð*). *Xatʿirlitʿbēr* is a garbling of **Qaðır il täbär (Xatʿirlitʿbēr = *Xatʿir il tʿber = *Qaðır il täbär).*[645]

Comments: Qadır (Radloff, II/1, p. 326) OT., Uyğ. "grimmig", "streng" (*see* also Orkun, *op. cit.* IV, p. 81 *qadır* "sarp", "güçlü", "müdhiş", "şiddetli" and *DTS*, p. 404, *qadhır = qadır* (p. 403) "surovyi", "žestokii", "liutyi' "svirepyi" = *qayır* (p. 407) "svirepyi", "liutyi"). Caferoğlu has (*Uyg. sözl.*, p. 161) *qadır* "pek", "sert", "somurtkan", "sarp", "yırtıcı", "hiddetli", "kızgın" and (p. 171) *qatır-* "sağlam", "pek". He also mentions the personal name *Qadır Bilgä*. The name *Qadır* is well known to the Turkic peoples but, after the islamicization of the bulk of the Turkic world, the name was confused with the Arabic name قادر which had a similar meaning. Thus, we encounter a *Qadir Yusuf Xan* (c. 1025) of Kāšğār and a *Qadır Qan* of the Qanglı (c. 1216).[646] The name is common amongst the Qazan Tatars (*see Tatar–Rus. slovar'*, p. 205) though the Arabic name is probably meant here. The history of ʿAta-Malik Juvainī[647] mentions a title *Ğayir Xan* of Inalčuq, governor of Otrar (c. 1218). Boyle notes that this is the name *Ğayir* or *Qayır*, the Türkmen equivalent of the eastern *Qadır*, *Qadır Xan* = "the mighty Xan". This is perfectly in keeping with developments in Oğuz and Qıpčaq Turkic. The *d* of *Qadır* was probably the interdental *d (ð)* which in Oğuz and Qıpčaq became *y* [*cf. *qaðğu = qayğu*. In Altay Turkic, *ð* became *z*, thus: *aðaq* "foot" = Oğuz/Qıpčaq *ayaq* = Altay Turkic *azaq*, hence we have the form *qazır* (Radloff, II/1, p. 379) for *qaðır* in Altay Turkic]. Thus, as Boyle notes[648] the western equivalent of *qaðır* is *qayır* and as such was much used in the Mongol–Turkic world in the period just prior to and following the expansion of the Mongols. The title is also known to the Qaraxanids and Qıpčaqs in the form *Qadır*[649] as well.

[645] Czeglédy accepts this [*see* K. Czeglédy, "Egy kazár méltóságnév" *MNy*, XLIII (1947), p. 290] but considers *Xatʿirlitʿber* the "chief dignity of the Caucasian Huns" because his name contains the title "*il täbär*" and this title is associated with them (*cf.* Alpʿ ilutʿuēr). *See* Czeglédy's "Khazar Raids" *AOH*, XI, p. 88. We must remember, however, that the title "*il täbär*" was not in use amongst the North Caucasian Huns alone.

[646] Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen*, p. 88; Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, p. 309.

[647] ʿAta-Malik Juvainī, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, trans. J. A. Boyle (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), I, p. 79.

[648] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 79, 305.

[649] Czeglédy, "Egy kazár méltóságnév" *MNy*, XLIII, pp. 290–291.

31. K.SĀ

The *Ta'rīx al-Bāb* reports that: ". . .in Rajab 288/August 901 the Khazars with their king K.sā b. B.ljān al-Khazarī came to attack Bāb al-Abwāb and Muhammad b. Hashīm with the ghazīs of al-Bāb fought them, beat them off and defeated them with the help of the Almighty."[650] It is impossible to determine who the Khazar king *K.sā* was (*B.ljān* has been discussed above). His name is not mentioned or even hinted at in Joseph's list of the Khazar rulers (in which he uses their Hebrew throne-names). Our sources also give a variety of forms for this name.

Sources

Münejjimbaši

1. Istanbul, Nur-i Osmaniye 3172, f. 655r, line 28: *K.sā bin *bulǰān* (Plate 97)
2. Istanbul, Topkapı, III Ahmet 2954, vol. 2, f. 1057r, line 13: *K.sā *bin *bulǰān* (Plate 98)
3. Istanbul, Bayezıt Umumī Ktph. 5020, p. 731, line 10: بن كيانبلجان *[*tn Ksā (kīsā?) *bin *bulǰān]* (Plate 99)
4. Süleymaniye, Es'ad Efendi 2103, f. 645r, line 9: *K.sā bin *bulǰān* (Plate 100)

Minorsky (*History of Sharvān*, p. 17 of Arabic text) has كسا بن بلجان *(K.sā bin B?lǰān)* and cites as variants (referring to the Bayezıt MS): نزّ كيسا بن بلجان *(N?zz Kīsā bin B?lǰān)* and تنّ كيسا بن بلجان *(T?nn Kīsā bin B?lǰān)*.

The manuscripts do not provide us with good readings. One suspects that Münejjimbaši himself may have mis-read or misunderstood the copy of the *Ta'rīx al-Bāb* which he used. How the تن of the Bayezıt MS crept into the text is a mystery. If it is, indeed, correct one might emend تن كسا بن بلجان to *تن كيس ابن بلجان **Tänkis* = *Tengiz/Tengis* (= Turkic "sea") *ibn Bulǰān*. As tempting as this suggestion may appear, it would require considerably more textual corroboration than we can provide at present. Lacking this, it is wiser to refrain from the many speculations one could make in regard to this name and conclude, reluctantly, that given the information we have at present, the pronunciation and meaning of the word remain unclear.

[650] Minorsky, *History of Sharvān*, p. 42 (p. 17 of Arabic text).

32. *KÜNDÜR

Ibn Faḍlān in his notice on the Khazar governmental hierarchy, mentions the "Kündür Qağan" who was the deputy of the "Qağan Bek". It is not clear why we have, in Ibn Faḍlān's notice, a proliferation of "Qağans". The latter was a very lofty title borne only by the supreme ruler (who is called here *Xāqān al-Kabīr* "the Great Qağan"[651] and one is quite struck by the liberality of our source with this title. Our sources do not inform us as to what were the functions of the **Kündür Qağan* other than that he "substitutes for", "takes the place of"[652] the *Qağan Bek*.

Sources

Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*

ed. Wüstenfeld, II, p. 438 : كُنْدُر خاقان *(Kundur Xāqān)*

MSS : 1. Oxford, Bodleian Marsh, 132, f. 48r, line 29 : **K . nd . r Xāqān* (Plate 7)

2. London, British Museum 16,649, f. 385r, line 18 : كندر خاقان *(K. nd . r Xāqān)* (Plate 8)

3. London, British Museum 23,371, f. 144v, line 8 : *K. nd . r Xāqān* (Plate 9)

4. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 2228, f. 106v, line 14 : *Kīd . r Xāqān* (Plate 76)

5. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 6610, f. 126v, line 23 : كُنْدُر خاقان *(Kundur Xāqān)* (Plate 11)

6. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 6040, f. 76r, line 3 : *K. nd . r Xāqān* (Plate 79)

7. Istanbul, Topkapı, III Ahmet 2715, f. 78r, line 5 : **K. nd . r Xāqān* (Plate 80)

8. Istanbul, Köprülü, 1163, f. 70r, line 9 : *K. nd . r Xāqān* (Plate 81)

Pronunciation: Yāqūt gives a form with *ḥarakas*: كُنْدُر = *Kundur* = **Kündür* (?).

Comments: Zajączkowski[653] reads كندر as **köndür* "a participium aoristi from the verb *kōnit- (kōnd-)* 'straighten', 'correct', 'direct', 'manage' (*see* Radloff, II/2, p. 1243 *kōni* OT., Uyğ., Čağ., 'grade', 'richtig', 'gerecht',

[651] Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, II, p. 438.

[652] *Ibid.*

[653] Zajączkowski, *Ze studiów*, pp. 32–33.

p. 1245 *köni-t-* Uyğ. 'grade machen')". He connects this with the Qaraim verb *k'oń'ar-* "kierować" ["direct", "conduct", "govern" *see* Kowalski, Qaraim/Tr., p. 221 *k'ond'ar-* "prowadzić", "pędzić", "wypędzać", "kierować"/"führen", "leiten", "fortführen", "treiben", "forttreiben" and Radloff (II/2. p. 1247) *köndär-* Qum., Qar. L. T. (*i*) Qum. "einwilligen machen", "veranlassen dass man übereinstimmt", (*ii*) Qar. T. "zurichten", "entführen"]. In Zajączkowski's view, **Köndür* should be translated as "(the ruler) who governs, the director, governor and eventually 'judge' " (he cites the German semantic parallel "richten"/"Richter").

Dezső Pais connects كندر with the Hungarian كنده *(Kende)* and derives them both from the Turkic *kün* ("sun", "day"). He views this title as stemming from Khazar court tradition (as described by Ibn Faḍlān[654]) where the lesser Qağans appear before the "Great Qağan" carrying lighted torches[655] [presumably symbolic of the sun ? p.g.].

The identification of كندر with كنده (*see* Ibn Rusta, ed. de Goeje, p. 143) which presupposes that كندر should be emmended to كنو or كندا (or perhaps Hungarian lost the final *r*) forms a special problem. Togan[656] and Zaxoder,[657] amongst others, would connect كنده/كندر with the surname (of a man of Khazar origin) كنداجيق، كنداج *(see* below *Kundāǰīq)*. Both Németh and Ligeti connect the Hungarian كنده with *Kündü* (Radloff, II/2, pp. 1444–5, Alt. Leb. Küär. aus dem Mong. (*i*) "die Ehrfurcht", "Höflichkeit", "Ehrfurchtbezeugung", "das Gastmahl", (*ii*) "das zweite wichtigste Amt nach dem Jaisang") and this, in turn, with Mongol (from which it derives as Radloff noted) *kündü-* "pesanteur", "lourd", "difficile", "pénible", "grave", "sérieux", "respectable", *kündüsiyekü* "respecter" and Manču *kundu* "Verehrung", "Hochachtung".[658] Macartney has compared this word with the name of an Avar emissary to Justinian in 568, *Καvδίχ* (which he gives as *Χαvδίχ)*.[659] Minorsky, following Munkácsi (*KSz.*, X, 1909, pp. 179–180) notes that *Kündü* was used as a title (*see* Radloff above). He also cites the form كندر used in the *Šāh-nāme* where it appears as the "name of a Saqlāb hero fighting in the Turanian army on the right hand of the Khaghan".[660]

[654] *Kniga Axmeda ibn Fadlana*, trans. ed. Kovalevskii, p. 146.

[655] Pais, "A gyula és a kündüh" *MNy*, XXVII (1931), pp. 172–174. This ceremony is, in our view, a rite of purification *(see* above, p. 99 n. 310).

[656] Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, p. 260.

[657] Zaxoder, *op. cit.*, I, p. 227.

[658] *See* L. Ligeti, "Kündü" *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények*, 48 (1931–4), p, 53; Németh, *HMK*, pp. 295–296.

[659] C. A. Macartney, *The Magyars in the Ninth Century* (Cambridge, 1930), p. 39; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 149.

[660] Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, pp. 323–324.

Ligeti notes that the Mongol tribes are divided into "arrows" (compare this with the *On-oq*) at the head of which are the *Kündü* and the *Janggi*.[661] This form of organization is of great antiquity amongst the Altaic peoples and the كندر/كنده may well be a reflection of this institution amongst the Khazars and the Hungarians (the latter having borrowed it from either the former or from some other Turkic people). The difficulty with this explanation is that *kündü* is not attested in any other Turkic language (other than as a loan-word in Altay Turkic). Moreover, the equation of كندر with كنده, while attractive, is not, as Zaxoder would have it, firmly established. The close relations of the Khazars and Hungarians certainly speak strongly in favor of such an equation but the evidence remains circumstantial. *Kundāǰīq*, in my opinion, should not be considered as part of this group. It has, as we shall see, ties with the Iranian world. There is, then, no convincing etymology of this word in Khazar.

33. KUNDĀJĪQ

Isḥaq ibn Kundājīq al-Xazarī was a well-known general of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate in the late ninth century. He and his son Muḥammad held Mosul for the Ṭūlūnids (the latter ruled Egypt and Syria, virtually independently of the Caliph, from 868–905. The founder of the dynasty, Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn was of Turkic origin[662]).

Sources

Ṭabarī, *Annals*
ed. de Goeje, III, pp. 1877, 1879, 1880: اسحاق بن كُنداجيق *(Isḥāq bin Kundāǰīq)*; pp. 1930, 1931: اسحاق بن كُنْداج *(Isḥāq bin Kundāǰ)*+

Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon*
ed. Tornberg, VII, p. 178: *Isḥaq bin Kundāǰīq*

Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*
ed. Wüstenfeld, I, pp. 730, 793: *Isḥaq bin Kundāǰīq*

[661] *See* Ligeti, "Kündü" *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények*, 48 (1931–1934), p. 53.
[662] C. E. Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties* (Edinburgh, 1967), p. 43.
+ The Egyptian edition (ed. M. Abū'l Faḍl Ibrāhīm) has the same readings *(cf.* vol. IX, pp. 504, 506, 587, 620, 622, 627, 653, 667; vol. X, pp. 12, 33 *(Kundāǰ)* and vol. IX, pp. 544, 551, 553, 628 *(Kundāǰīq)*.

MSS: I have only consulted the manuscripts of Yāqūt for this word·

1. Oxford, Bodleian, Marsh. 131, f. 119r, line 14: **Kundājīq* (Plate 168); f. 139v, lines 17, 18: **Kundājīq* (Plate 169)
2. London, British Museum Add. 16,649, f. 206r, line 8: *K. ndāḥīq* (Plate 170); f. 223v, line 11: *K. ndāḥtq?*, line 12: *K. ndāḥīq* (Plate 171)
3. London, British Museum Add. 23,371, f. 74r, line 8: *K. ndāḥīq* (Plate 172); f. 80v, lines 21, 22: *K. ndāḥīq* (Plate 173)
4. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 2226, f. 493v, line 3: *K. ndāḥīq* (Plate 174); f. 542v, lines 1, 2: *K. ndājīq* (Plate 175)
5. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 6600, f. 308r, line 12: *K. ndāḥīq* (Plate 176); f. 336r, lines 21, 22: *K. ndāḥīq* (Plate 177)
6. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek 6040 (Sprenger 7), f. 228v, line 13: *K. ndāḥīq* (Plate 178); f. 247v, lines 2, 3: *K. ndāḥīq* (Plate 179)
7. Istanbul, Topkapı, III Ahmet 2715, vol. 2, f. 196v, line 13: *K. ndājīq* (Plate 180); f. 227r, line 4: *K. ndāḥıq;* line 5: *K. ndājıq* (Plate 181)
8. Istanbul, Köprülü 1161, f. 199r, line 8: *K. ndājıq* (Plate 182)

Our form is clearly كنداجيق *Kundājīq* (ج being a frequent mistake for چ in manuscripts).

Pronunciation: كنداج / كنداجيق may be read as: **Kundāǰ*, **Kündāǰ*, **Kündäǰ* (چ may be read as *č* yielding **Kundāč* etc.), **Kundājıq*, **Kundačıq*, **Kündaǰıq* (the final *qāf* presupposes a velar *ı*).

Comments: Z. V. Togan attempted to derive *Kundājīq* from the Khazar title *K. nd.r.*[663] Zajączkowski has suggested that *Kundājīq* is a nickname (with diminutive suffix?) from *Künde* (Osm. *günde*, *gunda cf.* Pers. *gunda* meaning "a vulgar, common fellow", "a simpleton".[664] Both *č* and *čıq* may be viewed as Turkic diminutive suffixes,[665] if we presuppose that *Kundāǰ* and *Kundājīq* are Turkic words. Thus, Zajączkowski's reading (which would have to be **Gundaǰıq*) is not impossible (Khazar contacts with the Iranian world were close. A word such as *Kundājīq* may well have been borrowed and would, in time, have been treated as a Turkic word).

Minorsky has suggested another tack, noting that *Kundājīq* should be compared with the name (title?) of the ruler of the Alans as mentioned in

[663] Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, p. 260.

[664] Zajączkowski, *Ze studiów*, p. 34.

[665] Ramstedt, *Einführung*, II, pp. 215, 217. C. Brockelmann, *Osttürkische Grammatik*, p. 90; J. Deny, *Grammaire de la langue turque* (Paris, 1921), p. 322.

Mas'ūdī: كركنداج.[666] Minorsky writes: "*K.rk.ndāǰ* may be a Turkish honorific *(*Kärkündäǰ)*. The element *kär* is found in several Turkish names and words *(kär bugha, kär-balıq)* . . ."[667] Though the Alans were, indeed, subject to considerable Turkic influence, their language has remained Iranian up to the present day. Even the Alans or As who came to Hungary together with the Qumans, in flight before the Mongols, retained their Iranian speech in spite of their symbiosis with the Turkic Qumans.[668] The existence of this symbiosis can be seen in the Old Russian translation of Joseph Flavius' *History of the Jewish Wars* where the following addition was made: "Iazyk že iaseskyi vědomo est', iako ot pečenižeńska roda rodisia, živušče podlě Tana i Meotskago moria." "It is known that the Ias people were born of the Pečeneg nation dwelling beside the Tan (Don, Tanais) and Maeotis."[669] This shows the extent to which the As had become identified with Turkic peoples. The titles *Kundāǰīq* and *K.rk.ndāǰ* should, in my opinion, be viewed as related. Both may derive from Pehlevi *Kundāk* "Weiser", "Held"[670] (Arabic ج was originally a *g*; ج is often used to render *g cf.* برجان *Burǰān* = *Burgān*). Thus, كنداج = **Kundāg/Kundāk*, كنداجيق = *Kundaǰıq* (with diminutive in *-ıq cf.* Kök Turkic *ög* "Mutter", *ögük* "Mütterchen"[671]). If this derivation is correct, it would once again point to the intimate ties between Khazaria and the Iranian world.

34. PAPATZYS

This is the name (perhaps title?) of a representative of the Khazar Qağan in Bosphorus (the Greek text of Theophanes has: *Παπατζύν, τὸν ἐκ προσώπου αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖσε ὄντα* "Papatzys who was his [the Qağan's p.g.] representative there [in the Bosphorus p.g.]"[672] during the period of Justinian II's exile there. He and another representative of Khazar power there, **Bälgiči* ~ **Balıqči* were killed by Justinian II when he found out that the Qağan, now acting in concert with Apsimar, planned to have them assassinate him (*see* above).

[666] Mas'ūdī, *Murūǰ*, II, p. 42.

[667] Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān*, p. 156, esp. n. 1.

[668] *See* Németh, "Eine Wörterliste der Jassen der ungarländischen Alanen" *ADAW*, Nr. 4 (1959).

[669] Meščerskii, *Istoriia iudeiskoi voiny Iosifa Flaviia v drevnerusskom perevode*, p. 454.

[670] Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 166. *Contra* this *see* Czeglédy, "Das sakrale Königtum bei den Steppenvölkern" *Numen*, XIII (1966), pp. 21–24 who connects this name with the title *Kündü* Old. Hung. *Kende*.

[671] Gabain, *ATG*, p. 62.

[672] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, I, p. 373.

Sources

Theophanes, *Chronographia*

This is the only source to preserve these names.

MSS: 1. Oxford, Christ Church 5, f. 245r, lines 2, 7: *Παπατζυν (Papatzün)* (Plate 92)

2. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 1710, f. 307v, line 21; f. 308r, lines 4–5: *Papatzün* (Plates 93, 94)

Chronographia, ed. de Boor, I, p. 373: *Παπατζύν (Papatzün)*, *Παπατζίν (Papatzin)*, *Παπατζήν (Papatzén)*, *Πατζήν (Patzén)*

Pronunciation: *π* may stand for either *p* or *b*. *a* can render either *a* or *ä*. *τζ* regularly gives *č*. *υ* may be either *ü* or *i*. *Παπατζύ-ς* = **Papači*, **Päpäčü*/**Päpäči*, **Babači* (**Babaji?*), **Bäbäčü* etc.

Comments: Moravcsik suggests **Babajıq* ("Little Father");[673] but he does not bother to explain the final *q* nor does he give any justification for its absence in the forms we have in our source. On the basis of the readings in Theophanes alone we cannot come to any satisfactory conclusions with regard to this word.

35. P'ARSBİT'/*BARSBEK

Łewond in discussing Khazar raids into his native Armenia in the year 730, mentions the name of the mother of the Qağan, *P'arsbit'* who in that year ordered her general *T'armač'* to advance into Transcaucasia (*see Bārǰik* above for a discussion of the problems regarding this name).

Sources

Łewond, *Patmut'iwn*

ed. Ezeanc', p. 101: *փարսպիթ (P'arsbit')*

MS: Matenadaran 1902, f. 73v, line 16: *փարսպիթ (p'arsbit')* (Plate 183)

Pronunciation: *փարսպիթ* points to some interesting features of Khazar phonetics. The final *t'* here (*թ*) is probably an attempt by our Armenian source to render the strongly palatal and aspirated Turkic *k'* (Armenian

[673] Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 245.

has an aspirated *k*ʿ but it apparently did not have the same qualities as the Turkic *k*ʿ *cf.* Arm.*Xakʿan* for Turk. *Qağan*) which in Khazar pronunciation may have approached *ǩ'*. This pronunciation of *k'* is not unknown to modern Turkic dialects. Eastern Anatolian Turkish and Azeri, in particular, have this feature. Caferoğlu, in his article on consonant changes in Anatolian Turkish dialects makes special mention of this (he notes a *k* > *t* change, *cf. päkmäz/pätmäz).*[674] Medieval Qıpčaq also shows this feature (Quman : *etmek/ötmek* for *ekmek* "bread").[675]

Comments: Bars (Radloff, IV/2, p. 1487) Osm., Trkm., Xiva, ET., OT. *pars* p. 1158 Osm., Uyğ., QazT. "der Panther", "der Tiger", "der Leopard". *Barsbäg* (OT) "ein Eigenname" (*see* also Orkun, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 152 ; Caferoğlu, *Uyg. sözl.* p. 34 and Houtsma, *TAG*, p. 28) = **Barsbik'*.

36. ŠAD

The title *Šad* was widely repanded in the early Medieval Turkic world. Amongst the Khazars, up to the ninth century, its bearer is everywhere mentioned as the second in power after the Qağan. By the tenth century the *Šad* appears to have been replaced by a *Bäk* (perhaps indicating certain dislocations in the Khazar hierarchy). In Movsēs Dasxuranc'i, the *Šad* appears as the nephew of *J̌ebu Xakʿan (*J̌abğu Qağan)* the ruler of the West Kök Türks and the Khazars.[676]

Sources

We have a variety of readings in our sources :

Ibn Rusta, ed. de Goeje, pp. 139–140 : ايشا *(Išā)*

Gardīzī, *see MHK*, pp. 152–153 Persian text : ابشاد *(Abšād)*

Mōvses Dasxuranc'i, ed. Emin, pp. 161, 172, 175, 177, 180, 184, 194, 393 : Շաթ *(Šatʿ)*. *See* also the 13th century author Kirakos Ganjakec'i : *Kirakosi vardapeti Gandzakecwoy hamaṙot Patmutʿiwn* (Venedik,

[674] A. Caferoğlu, "Anadolu ağızları konson değismeleri" *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı-Belleten* (1963), p. 13.

[675] Grønbech, *Kom. Wb.*, p. 96.

[676] Dasxuranc'i, *History*, trans. Dowsett, p. 88. Kirakos says "son of J̌abu-Xakʿan".

1865) p. 98 : *ի Շաթայ խազրէ* (*i Šatʿ-ay Xazr-ē;* abl.) undoubtedly following Dasxurancʿi.

MSS

Ibn Rusta

British Museum Add. 23,378 (Taylor), f. 160r, line 12; f. 160v, lines 1, 3, 10, 13; f. 161r, line 9 : ايشا *(Išā)* (Plates 130, 184, 185)

Gardīzī

1. Cambridge, King's College 213, f. 190r, line 3 from bottom; last line : ايشاد *(Išād)* (Plate 164); f. 190v, line 1 : *??Šād* = *ايشاد (Plate 186)
2. Oxford, Bodleian Ouseley 240, p. 473, line 13 : **Āšād?, Ābšad?* (Plate 165); p. 474, line 1 : **Išād?, *Ābšād?;* line 2 : *Išad* (Plate 187)

Movsēs Dasxurancʿi

London, British Museum OR 5261, f. 98v, line 4; f. 114r, line 12; f. 120v, line 2 : *Šatʿ* (Plates 188, 194, 117); f. 106r, line 5 : *šatʿ-n* (Plate 189); f. 109r, line 6; f. 111r, line 7; f. 112r, line 14 : *šatʿ-ay* (Plates 191, 192, 193); f. 107v, line 11 : *šatʿ-ayn* (suffixed forms) (Plate 190)

Pronunciation: The Armenian form *շաթ (Šatʿ)* clearly gives *Šad* (Armenian *թ* may be used here to render *ð*, *շաթ* = **Šað*). Gardīzī's form points to : ايشاد *Išād* as do those found in Ibn Rusta.

Comments: Minorsky has compared آنسا *(Ānsā)* found in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* as the name of the Khazar royal family[677] with *Īšā* and *Īšād*.[678] Zaxoder, in one passage of his work on the Islamic sources for the history of Eastern Europe, agrees with this (in another part of his work he writes : "it is very difficult to free oneself from the temptation of seeing in these incomprehensible signs not a title but a personal name of the type of the Aramic Yoʿšua . . ."[679]). The *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* manuscript, however, quite clearly gives the reading *Ānsā* and although this work owes much to the same sources from which Ibn Rusta and Gardīzī drew their information, I think these words should be viewed as two separate and distinct names

[677] Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, p. 162.
[678] *Ibid.*, p. 451.
[679] Zaxoder, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 195, 209. This formulation is highly unlikely.

(*see Ašina/Ānsā* below). We have in *Išā*, *Išād* and *Šat'* the Turkic title *Šad* (Radloff, IV/1, p. 971) OT. aus dem Iran, "eine hohe Würde, die höchste nach dem Chan". As Radloff noted, *Šad* is perhaps of Iranian origin (*cf.* Soğd. *Xšyd*,[680], *Ixšēdh*, Avestan *Xšaeta*, *Šēdah*, Pehlevi *Šetak*[681]). Barthold compares it with *Šāh*.[682] Ṭabarī notes the presence of this title amongst the rulers of "Ṭoxāristān" in the form الشذ (the king is called جبغوية = * حيغوية *J̌abğūyah*).[683] According to the *T'ung-tien* (by Tu-yu completed in 801) "he who leads an independent army is called *šē* [i.e. *Šad* p.g.]".[684] Barthold notes: "der Titel *šad* z. B. wie sich die Mitglieder der Chan Dynastie nannten, die an der Spitze der einzelnen Stämme standen, ist aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach iranisch . . ."[685] László and Gumilëv state that the *Šad* could rule a part of the state.[686]

The forms found in Ibn Rusta and Gardīzī have called forth a considerable literature.[687] The majority of these articles have attempted to reconstruct various titles out of the ايـ element of ايشا – ايشاد changing it to الب شاد، ابه شاد، ابشاد etc. As these readings are not borne out by the manuscripts (apparently Thúry's comments regarding the proper readings of those forms,[688] made in 1903, went unheeded), it would be pointless to recite the various theories that have been put forward (the reader may find them in Doerfer's second volume cited below, n. 687).

It seems most probable that *Išād* is a variant of Iranian *Xšyd*, *Ixshēd*. Another form of this, well known in the Muslim Mediterranean world, is *Ixšid* the name of a Turkic dynasty ruling for a brief period (935–969) in Egypt and Syria.[689] Both forms, *Šad* and *Ixšid*, were extensively used as titles in the Turkic world.

[680] Kliaštornyi, *op. cit.*, p. 111. *See* also Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 11: *Xšēð*. Smirnova (*Očerki iz istorii Sogda*, pp. 50–52) cites: *ǧšyd*, *ǧš'yd*, *'ǧšyd* which Muslim sources transcribe as *ixšīd*. The title was used by the kings of Farğāna, Soğd and Samarqand. In the 7th–8th centuries *'Xšyd* was often translated into Arabic as *malik al-mulūk* (p. 65). Smirnova considers it, in Central Asian Iranian, a borrowing from Western Iranian, *cf.* Avest. *Xšaeta*.

[681] Justi, *op. cit.*, pp. 141, 293.

[682] Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen*, p. 13.

[683] Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, II, p. 1206.

[684] Liu Mau-tsai, *op. cit.*, II, p. 498.

[685] Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen*, p. 13.

[686] László, "A kagán és családja", p. 32; Gumilëv, *Drevnie tiurki*, p. 53.

[687] For the most recent survey *see* Doerfer, *TMEN*, II, pp. 1–4.

[688] J. Thúry, "A Khazar *iša* méltóságnévről", *KSz*, IV (1903), p. 4.

[689] Bosworth, *Islamic Dynasties*, p. 45.

37. SALĪFĀN

The *Ta'rīx al-Bāb*, for the year 916, in describing one of the many squabbles that took place amongst the Muslim rulers of Bāb al-Abwāb mentions *Salīfān* who "came to assist [one of the parties p.g.] with a Khazar army".[690] Minorsky compares this *Salīfān* with a *Salīfān* mentioned by Mas'udi[691] as the name of the ruler of Xaydaq[692] and suggests that the two are identical.[693] The fate of our *Salīfān* (i.e. the one mentioned in the *Ta'rīx al-Bāb*) does not hinge on the fate of the Mas'ūdī text. The *Ta'rīx al-Bāb* is an independent text which drew its information from local chronicles. The *Salīfān* of our text was either a Khazar or a local prince who was a vassal of the Khazars.

Sources

Ta'rīx al-Bāb

History of Sharvān and Darband, ed. Minorsky, p. 18 of Arabic text: سليفان *(Salīfān)*

Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*

MSS: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 1476, f. 86r, line 10: *S.līfā.* = **Salīfān* (Plate 196)

Murūj II, p. 39 (*see* also note 691)

Münejjīmbašı

MSS: 1. Istanbul, Nur-i Osmaniye 3172, f. 655r, line 50: **Salīfān* (Plate 97)

2. Istanbul, Topkapı III Ahmet 2954/II, f. 1057r, line 29: *Salīfān* (Plate 98)

3. Istanbul, Bayezıt, Veliyüddin 5020, f. 731, line 27: *Salīfān* (Plate 99)

4. Süleymaniye, Es'ad Efendi 2103, f. 645r, line 22: **Salīfān* (Plate 100)

[690] Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān*, p. 43, Arabic text, p. 18.

[691] Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, p. 39. Recent editions of Mas'ūdī have maintained this form (which has been questioned by some specialists), see: Cairo ed. (ed. M. 'Abdalḥamīd) vol. I, 192 and the revision of the de-Meynard–de Courteille edition done by C. Pellat (Beirut, 1966), I, p. 227.

[692] On Xaydaq, see Minorsky's detailed discussion (*A History of Sharvān*, pp. 92–95). Numerous problems are associated with the identification of this region.

[693] Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān*, p. 93.

Pronunciation: *Salīfān* (*Salıfan? Sälifän? *Salıpan?).

Comments: The significance of this title is obscure. Minorsky[694] identifies it with the *Sse-li-fa* of the *Sui Shu* where it is stated that Sse-li-fa is under the *tegin* and above the *tudun* in the Turkic hierarchy.[695] The *Kieu T'ang shu* mentions a *Sse-li-fa* who was "delegated to carry the insignia of command for the direction of the military affairs of the Hoei-ho (Uyğurs)".[696] Apparently, the *Sse-li-fa* was a military officer who was sent to direct the army affairs of subject peoples, just as the *tudun* (as we shall see) was sent by the Qağan to direct the civil affairs of conquered peoples (particularly collection of taxes). The title *Sse-li-fa*, however, has usually been viewed as the Chinese transcription of *iltābār*.[697] It seems more than likely, then, that *Salīfān* and *Sse-li-fa* are not related. It is difficult to determine what title (name?) *Salīfān* may mask. We may be dealing with a Palaeo-Caucasian term or, perhaps, some Iranian title.

38. TARQAN/TARXAN

Tarqan/Tarxan is both a name and a title much in use amongst the Khazars. It is attested in a great variety of sources:

Ibn Xurdādhbih (de Goeje, p. 163): طرخان ملك الخزر *(Ṭarxān malik al-Xazar)*

Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī (text in Togan, *Ibn Faḍlan's Reisebericht*, p. 296: هزار طرخان *(Hazār Ṭarxān)*

Muqaddasī, ed. de Goeje, p. 362: طرخان ملك الخزر *(Ṭarxān malik al-Xazar)*

Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, I. p. 328: استرخان *(Astarxan)*
III, p. 647: اطراخنة *(Aṭrax . n . h)*

Ya'qūbī (*Ta'rīx*, ed. Houtsma), II, p. 446: راس طرخان *(Rās Ṭarxān)*

Bal'ami (in Dorn, "Nachrichten über die Chazaren"), p. 534: طرخان *(Ṭarxān)*

[694] Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān*, p. 93.
[695] Liu Mau-tsai, *op. cit.*, I, p. 41.
[696] Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 92.
[697] *See* v. V. Bartol'd (Barthold), "Kirgizy" *Sočineniia* (Moskva, 1963), II/1, p. 481 and note 463 of this work.

Hudūd al-ʿĀlam, Tumanskii MS, p. 38b : طرخان خاقان *(Ṭarxān Xāqān)*

Łewond, ed. Ezeancʿ, p. 132 : *Ռաժ Թարխան (Raž Tʿarxan)*

Movsēs Dasxurancʿi ed. Emin, p. 294 : *Աւէլի Թարխան (Awčʿi Tʿarxan)*
p. 190 : *Չորպան Թարխան (Čʿorpan Tʿarxan)*

Kʿartʿlis Cʿxovreba, I, pp. 152, 153, 154; II, p. 65: *Tʿarχan;* II, p. 65: *Tʿarxan*; variant reading : I, p. 153 : *Tʿar[a]qan* and p. 154 : *Tʿarqan*

"Žitie sv. Stefana Surožskago", p. 100 : Юрій Тарханъ

MSS

Ibn Xurdādhbih

1. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek 783, f. 69r, line 4 : *Ṭarxān* (Plate 197)
2. Oxford, Bodleian, Huntington 433, f. 61v, line 3 : *Ṭ.rḥān* = **Ṭarxan* (Plate 198)
3. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 2213, f. 40v, line 14 : *Ṭarḥān* (Plate 199)

Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī

Istanbul, Topkapı, III Ahmet 2956/II, f. 194v, lines 11, 13 : *Ṭarxān* (Plate 106) and elsewhere

Muqaddasī

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek 6033, p. 309, lines 8, 2 : *Ṭarxān* (Plate 200)

Ṭabarī

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek 9421, f. 154r, line 18 : *Aštarxān* (Plate 35)

Yaʿqūbī

Cambridge QQ10, f. 192r, line 29 : *Rāš Tarxān* (Plate 36)
Manchester, John Rylands Library, Arabic 231 (801), f. 152r, line 4 : *Rās Ṭarxān* (Plate 37)

Balʿamī

Oxford, Bodleian, Elliot 376, f. 342v, lines 3, 22, 24 : *Ṭarxān* (Plate 43); f. 343v, lines 17, 25 : *Ṭarxānān Ṭarxūnī* (Plate 157)

The other Balʿamī MSS show no marked differences in their transcription of the Khazar title *Ṭarxān* from that of Elliot 376. This form *Ṭarxān*, like *Xāqān* was fixed in the Islamic sources. Any changes that occur are the result of Arabic or Persian grammatical rules. Thus, rather than repeat this title *ad infinitum* I have omitted the full listing.

Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam

Rukopiś Tumanskogo, p. 38b, line 7 : *Ṭarxān* (Plate 23)

Łewond

Matenadaran 1902, f. 98v, line 9: թարխան *(T'arxan)* (Plate 38)

Movsēs Dasxuranc'i

British Museum 5261, f. 118r, line 7: *T'arxan-n* (Plate 102); f. 185r, lines 20–21: *T'arxan* (Plate 39)

Pronunciation: All our forms, with the notable exception of the Georgian variant readings, give *Tarxan*. Georgian, so rich in consonants, provides us with three forms: *T'arχan*, *T'arxan* and *T'arqan*. The letters *X̣* and *X* are pronounced the same in Modern Georgian (thus the letter for *χ̣* is no longer used). The letter *Qar* is a deep, velar *q* somewhat akin to the Arabic *Qāf* but pronounced with greater force. It is often used to represent *q* of other languages (Arabic and Persian).

Comments: Tarqan/Tarxan (Radloff, III/1, p. 851) OT. "der Tarchan, eine Würde", p. 854: Tarxan, Osm. Čağ. = Tarqan (*i*) "der Tarchan, der privilegierte Stand (Radloff quoting from P. de Courteille's *Dictionary*, p. 213, adds: 'on appelle ainsi celui qui est exempt de toute espèce de charges, qui ne doit aucune dîme pour le butin dont il s'empare, qui entre chez le rois quand il le veut, qui n'est soumis à aucune enquête quand il commet une faute')", (*ii*) "ein dschagataischer Volksstamm", (*iii*) Osm. "der Bestandtheil eines Eigennamens". Von Gabain[698] gives the forms *Tarqan* and *Tarxan* noting that it is a "hocher Adelsrang". Maḥmud Kāšğarī states[699] "*Tarxan*: a name given in the pre-Islamic period; it means 'Bey'. It is Arğu." ʿAta Malik Juvainī in his *Ta'rīx-i Jahān-Guša* notes that *Tarxans* "are those who are exempt from compulsory contributions, and to whom the booty taken on every campaign is surrendered: whenever they so wish they may enter the royal presence without leave or permission".[700] The title was known to the Ancient Bulğars in the form ТАРҚАНОС[701] though no explanations are given in the inscriptions as to what the tarqanal office may have been. It is also found in Hungary as a place name: Tárkány in the Komárom, Tolna, Heves, Borsod, Zemplén and Bihar counties. Gombocz concludes that this title was used as a name and the resulting

[698] Gabain, *ATG*, p. 328.

[699] Maḥmūd Kāšğarī, *Divan*, ed. Atalay, p. 219; *Divan Terciimesi*, trans. Atalay, I, p. 436.

[700] Juvainī, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, trans. Boyle, I, pp. 37–38.

[701] Menges, "Altaic Elements in the Proto-Bulgarian Inscriptions", *Byzantion*, XXI (1951), pp. 92, 99.

place names reflect the names of Turkic chieftains (Gombocz suggests Quman) who settled in these areas.[702]

In Mongol, *Darxan* means "master", "craftsman", "one who has the privilege of exemption from tax-paying" and has spread with this meaning to Qazaq and Qırğız.[703] Menges has noted that when this title appears as *Aba Tarxan* it signifies "a high military commander" in Old Turkic.[704]

There is, as yet, no convincing etymology of this word.[705]

39. T'ARMAČ'

This is the name or title of the Khazar general dispatched by P'arsbit' to invade Armenia in 730.[706] Khazar raids into Transcaucasia reached a high watermark in this year. The Khazars destroyed an entire Arab army and killed its commander Jarrah ibn 'Abdullāh al-Ḥakamī at Ardebil.[707]

Sources

Łewond, *Patmut'iwn*

ed. Ezeanc', p. 101 : Թարմաչ *T'armač'*

MS : Matenadaran 1902, f. 73v, line 17 : Թարմաչ *(T'armač')* (Plate 183)

Pronunciation: clearly *T'armač'*.

Comments: We see here, once again, the *r–l* oscillation we have already observed in Khazar, a feature known to other Turkic dialects and frequently observed in the transcription of Turkic words in Arabic, Armenian and Greek. *T'armač'* = *talmač|tolmač|tılmač* "translator".

The earliest reference to this word in a Turkic literary monument is from the Qutadğu Bilig *tılmačı*.[708] *Tılmač* etc. is widely repanded in Medieval

[702] Gombocz, "Árpádkori török személyneveink" MNy. XI (1915), p. 451. *Tarxan* was also the name of one of the original seven Hungarian tribes: Tarján (see Németh, *HMK*, pp. 255–261).

[703] Menges, "Oriental Elements", pp. 55–56.

[704] *Ibid.*, p. 55.

[705] *See Ibid.*, pp. 55–57 and Doerfer, *TMEN*, II, pp. 460–474. For an attempt to connect this title with metal-working (*Darxan* in Mongol also means "blacksmith"), *see*, A. Alföldi, "A *tarchan* méltóságnév eredete" *MNy*, XXVIII (1932), pp. 205–220.

[706] Łewond, *Patmut'iwn*, Ezeanc' ed., p. 101.

[707] Dunlop, *op. cit.*, pp. 69–70. Dunlop makes no mention of either *P'arsbit'* or *T'armač'*.

[708] *Kutadğu Bilig* (Fergana nüshası), II, p. 24.

Qıpčaq: *At-Tuḥfat*, ed. Halasi-Kun, f. 8v: *tılmač–'tarǰumān'*. *Codex Cumanicus* (Grønbech, *Kom. Wb.*, p. 248): *tolmač*, *tylmač (telmač/tolmač, tolmaz)* "Dolmetscher". *Bulġat al-Muštāq*, ed. trans. Zajączkowski, I, p. 49, Arabic text, p. 6: *talmač*, *tálmač* "tłumacz"/"interprète", "drogman". Ibn Muhenna (Ed. trans. Battal, p. 72): *tilmač* "tercüman", "dilmač". Qaraim, which is closest to Medieval Quman has *tolmač* (Radloff, III/1, p. 1205 Qar. T.) "der Uebersetzer", "Dolmetscher". Németh, in his excellent article on the Hungarian form *tolmács*, gives the following: Altay: *tilbeč*, *tilbets*, *tilbeš*; Qırğız: *tilmeč;* Qazaq: *tilmeš;* Qazan Tatar: *tılmač*; Pečeneg: *tulmač*, *talmač*.[709] There is also the Pečeneg tribal name *ταλμάτ*[710] (compare this with the Turkic tribal name mentioned in the *Sefer Yosippon* טילמץ = *Ṭīlm.ṣ*, var.: טילמיץ = *Ṭīlmīṣ* = **Tilmeč*[711]) which is a tribal name derived from a title as were a number of Pečeneg tribal names.[712] Németh further notes: "dieses Wort bezeichnete bei den Petschenegen eine der höchsten Würden: der Dolmetscher — vielleicht eine Art Aussenminister — gehörte zu den Stammesfürsten".[713] A reflection of the Khazar (via the Qabars?) form may perhaps be seen in the Hungarian place name *Tormás*.[714]

Thus, *T'armač'* is probably the title, rather than the name, of the Q'azar general mentioned in Łewond. It should be viewed, as Németh indicates, as "foreign minister". His role as P'arsbit"s closest associate in the Khazar raids into Transcaucasia, when seen in this light, is perfectly clear and commensurate with the duties his title implies. As for *Talmač* etc., various attempts have been made to trace its etymology to non-Turkic sources.[715]

[709] Németh, "Zur Geschichte des Wortes *tolmács*" *AOH*, VIII (1958), p. 2: from Turkic this word spread to Slavic (Russ. *tolmač*, Ukr. *tlumač* (via Polish *tłumacz?*) and German *Dolmetscher*.

[710] Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *DAI*, ed. Moravcsik–Jenkins, p. 166. *Cf.* also the *τουλμάτζοι* mentioned by Constantinus in his *De Cerimoniis* (Bonn ed.), pp. 579, 664, 667, 668. For literature on the latter, *see* Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 318.

[711] *Sefer Yosippon*, ed. Hominer, p. 45; Harkavi, *Skazaniia evreiskix pisatelei*, p. 38.

[712] Németh, *HMK*, pp. 45–47.

[713] Németh, "Zur Geschichte des Wortes *tolmács*" *AOH*, VIII (1958), p. 3.

[714] Mentioned in Németh, *HMK*, p. 291. Németh connects *Tormás* with *τερματζους* of the house of Árpád (*see DAI*, p. 40), with a different etymology. Czeglédy [*cf.* his "*TEPMATZOYΣ*" *Acta Antiqua*, X (1962), pp. 79–84] connects *τερματζους* with *T'armač'*, but has no etymology for it. *Tormás*, *termacsu* etc. are, in my view, probably reflections of the title *Talmač*, *Tılmač*, *Tolmač* etc.

[715] *See* in particular P. Jyrkänkallio, "Zur Etymologie von Russ. *Tolmač* 'Dolmetscher' und seiner türkischen Quelle" *Studia Orientalia*, XVII (1952). Doerfer (*TMEN*, II, pp. 662–664) follows Németh in viewing *Tılmač* as native Turkic *(Tıl/Til/Dil* "language", "tongue" + suffix-*mač)*.

40. TUDUN

In the Byzantine sources, the *Chronographia* of Theophanes and the *Breviarium* of the Patriarch Nicephorus, we encounter the Khazar title *Tudun* in connection with the tumultuous events surrounding Justinian II's exile to the Crimea.[716] The *Tudun* ruled Xerson, for a brief period it appears, as the direct representative of the Qağan.[717]

An Armenian source, Movsēs Dasxuranc'i, speaking of events following the Khazar siege of Tbilisi mentions the *T'nduns* of the *Šat'* ("distinguished men called *t'nduns* . . ."[718]).

Sources

Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, I, p. 378: *τουδοῦνου* variant readings: *τούδουνον, τοῦ δουναι.* p. 379: variant readings: *τουδοῦνον, τούδουνον, τοῦ δουνόν, τὸν δούνον, τὸ δουνόν.*

Nicephorus, *Breviarium* (Bonn ed.), pp. 50, 51, 52: *τὸν Δοῦνου*

Movsēs Dasxuranc'i, Emin ed., gives only p. 186: *Թնդեանս (T'ndeans)* Dowsett (Movsēs Dasxuranc'i, *History*, p. 101) gives the following readings: *T'nduns, T'ndiwns, T'ndeans.*

MSS

Theophanes

1. Oxford, Christ Church 5, f. 247v, line 2; f. 248r, lines 2, 8–9, 11: *τοῦ δουνου* (Plates 201, 202)
2. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 1710, f. 312r, line 21; f. 313r, line 20; f. 313v, lines 8, 12: *τοῦ δουν(ου)* (Plates 147, 148, 149)

Nicephorus

1. British Museum Add. 19,390, f. 52r, line 16; f. 52v, line 21; f. 53r, lines 3–4: *του δοῦνου* (Plates 205, 206, 207)
2. Vatican 977, f. 199r, lines 11, 31–32; f. 199v, line 2: *τὸν δοῦνου* (Plates 208, 209)

Movsēs Dasxuranc'i

London, British Museum OR 5261, f. 115r, line 14: *Թնդունս (T'nduns)* (Plate 210)

[716] *See* above and Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, I, pp. 378–379; Nicephorus, *Brevarium* (Bonn ed.), pp. 50–52.

[717] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, I, p. 378.

[718] Dasxuranc'i, *History*, trans. Dowsett, p. 101.

Pronunciation: *Τουδοῦν Tudun*, perhaps **Tuđun*. The *n* in the Armenian forms *(tʿndeans/tʿnduns)* Dowsett terms "intrusive" and cites Armenian: *menkʿenay* and *ansiz*[719] (for Greek *μηχανή*, etc. *cf.* Georgian *mankʿana*). The significance of *s* in the Armenian form (borrowed from a Greek source?) is unclear.

Comments: *Tudun* (Radloff, III/2, p. 1495) OT. "eine Würde". Chinese sources *(Kieu T'ang-shu*, Chap. CXIV, b) inform us that *Tudun* was an hereditary title given to officers of the government of the Kök Türks who were not of royal blood.[720] Their function was to supervise the administration of conquered lands which were left under the nominal rule of their native kings. One of the Tudun's primary concerns was the control of customs duties and taxes.[721]

The title *Tudun* is well attested amongst the Kök Türks. The ruler (c. 715) of Taškent (Šaš) was called *Bağatur Tudun*. The ruler of Hami was *Tudun Šad*[722] *(Tudun* used here, perhaps, as a personal name). The Old Türk inscriptions have: *Kül Tudun, Tudun Yamtar, Tudun, Uruñu Tudun Čigši.*[723] The title was also known to the European Avars: *Tudun Xan.*[724] Amongst the Bulğars it appeared as *Turun* (Oğuric *r* = Common Turkic *đ* or *z cf. ađaq* "foot" = Čuvaš *ura idem*).[725] The Khazar forms are Common Turkic. *Tudun* was also known to the Oğuz (Seljuq) tribes of Asia Minor.[726] Zajączkowski notes the similarity of this title with two other Kök Türkic titles *Tutun* and *Tutuq* (both of Chinese origin).[727]

[719] Dasxuranc'i, *History*, trans. Dowsett, p. 102.

[720] Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 21; Liu Mau-tsai, *op. cit.*, I, p 9.

[721] Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 24; László, "A kagán és családja", p. 27. An anonymous Greek etymological dictionary of the tenth century, *Etymologicum Magnum* (*see* Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, I, p. 257, II, p. 317) notes: "*Tuduns* are the governors amongst the Turks."

[722] *See* Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, II, 1694; Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 141; Kliaštornyi, *op. cit.*, p. 159; Smirnova, *Očerki iz istorii Sogda*, p. 235 (who also notes, p. 60, that it was used later as a title by the rulers of Soğd and Buxārā: *tđwn*).

[723] Orkun, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 159, 169, 172.

[724] Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 317.

[725] *Troitskaia letopiś* [ed. M. D. Prisëlkov (Moskva–Leningrad, 1950), p. 311] calls the Volga Bulğar aristocracy *trunove*. Ašmarin *(Bolgary i Čuvaši*, p. 17) cites the Čuvaš village names in Kozmodemiiansk, Buinsk and Tsarevokokšaisk districts: *Turunovo, Turunova.*

[726] V. A. Gordlevskii, *Gosudarstvo sel'džukidov Maloi Azii* in his *Izbrannye Sočineniia* (Moskva, 1960), I, p. 87.

[727] Zajączkowski, *Ze studiów*, p. 31; Menges, *The Turkic Languages and Peoples*, p. 169. Smirnova (*Očerki iz istorii Sogda*, p. 60) views it as of Chinese origin.

41–42. *YAZIR BULAŠ (?)

Al-Yaʿqūbī, a ninth century Arab historian, has a notice on the Khazars relating to the very early part of their history in the North Caucasian steppelands. He writes: "The Khazars ruled all of Armenia. Over them there is a king called Xāqān who has a deputy called *Yazır (?) Bulaš (?)."[728] Unfortunately, our manuscripts do not have the pointing necessary to determine the proper pronunciation of this name.

Sources

Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīx*

ed. Houtsma, I, p. 203: يزيد بلاش Houtsma conjectures: *يزيد بلاش *(Yazīd Bulaš)*

MSS: 1. Cambridge QQ10, f. 52v, line 15: يزيد بلاش *(Y?z?d ?lāš)* (Plate 131)

2. Manchester, John Rylands Library, Arabic 231 (801), f. 41v, line 7: يزيد بلاش (Plate 211)

Pronunciation: يزيد may be **Yazid* (not likely, this is an Arab name and the Khazars, at this period — mid-sixth century — had not yet had any contact with the Arabs), **Yazır*, **Yezir*, **Yazıd* etc.

Comments: يزيد may stand for **Yazır* (an Uyğur personal name and also the name of an Oğuz tribe in the Seljuq period[729]) from *Yaz-* (Radloff, III/1, p. 226) Qaz. T., Qum., Qrm., Osm., Čağ. "vom graden Wege abweichen", "den Weg verlieren", "umherirren", "sündigen", "Fehler begehen" which is quite close in meaning to the word *Khazar* itself.

بلاش remains equally a mystery. Houtsma's conjectured reading as **Bulāš* or **Bolāš* was picked up by Lewicki who saw in it "a derivative from the verb *Bol-* 'to be, become' ".[730] For *Bulaš* we have Osm. *Bulaš-* (Radloff, IV/2, p. 1840) "sich beschmutzen"/"sich mit Jemandem einlassen", "Hand anlegen", "unternehmen", "sich bemächtigen"/"sich erregen", "aufregen",

[728] *Yaʿqūbī, Taʾrīx*, ed. Houtsma, I, pp. 203–204; Dunlop, *op. cit.*, pp. 20–21; Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie*, I, pp. 254–255.

[729] *DTS*, p. 251; F. Sümer, *Oğuzlar* (Ankara, 1967), pp. 238–240.

[730] Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie*, I, p. 278.

"in Unruhe kommen". Mamluk Qıpčaq has this root with a different meaning.[731] Lewicki's suggestion is pure speculation ; بلاش may just as easily (and with equal justification) be read as **Yulaš, Yolaš, *Tulaš, *Tolaš* etc.

43. ZIEBĒL

This is the name or title of the Khazar ruler (most probably the ruler of the Western Kök Türks is meant, *see J̌abğu* of this Wordlist[732] and below) who led a series of raids into Transcaucasia, the most famous of which culminated in the siege of Tbilisi in 627. Theophanes, who reports this form of the name, says that *Ziebēl* "was second in dignity to the Qağan".[733]

Sources

Theophanes, *Chronographia*
ed. de Boor, I, p. 316 : *Ζιέβηλ;* variant reading : *Ζιεβήλ*
Scylitzes-Cedrenus
Bonn ed., I, p. 728 : *Ζεβεήλ*
MSS : 1. Oxford, Christ Church 5, f. 217r, lines 12, 15, 21, 24 : *Ζιεβηλ* (Plate 212)
2. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 1710, f. 256v, line 9, 15 ; f. 257r, lines 2, 6 : *Ζιεβήλ, Ζιεβηλ* (Plates 145, 213)

Pronunciation: *Z* renders *z*. It may, however, stand for *ǰ (cf. Σπαοζευγοῦν*[734] *= *Išbara J̌abğu)* as well as *ž* and *š*.[735] *β* may be either *b* or *v*. *η* could represent either *ē* (classisizing) or *i*. *Ζιεβήλ* may perhaps mask **ǰebel/J̌iebel/J̌iebil (J̌eber?)*.

Comments: The identification of *Ζιεβήλ* with *Յեբու Խաքան (J̌ebu Xakʿan)* of Movsēs Dasxurancʿi and *ǰibğu* of the Georgian chronicles has long been taken for granted in historical literature.[736] These figures, in turn, have

[731] *See Bulğat al-Muštāq*, ed. Zajączkowski, II, p. 48 *bulaš-* "wymieszać", "mieszać" (< *bulğa-*). Atalay's *bulaš-* (*see* his *Et-Tuhfet*, p. 157, f. 32r) is a misreading of *y.laš* which is what the MS has (*see At-Tuḥfat*, ed. Halasi-Kun, f. 31v, ed. Atalay, f. 32r).

[732] Dunlop, *op. cit.*, pp. 30–31 : Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang*, p. 149 etc.

[733] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, I, p. 316 ; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 290.

[734] Theophylactus Simocatta, *Historiae* (Bonn ed.), p. 285 ; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 290.

[735] Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 33.

[736] Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 394. *See* above.

been regarded as identical with T'ong Yabğu Qağan, the Qağan of the West Kök Türk empire.[737] Indeed, a comparison of the sources points strongly to such an identification. From the linguistic point of view, however, there are some difficulties. The final *l* in *Ζιεβήλ* has not been explained (if we are to see in it some form of the title *Yabğu/J̌abğu*). It is, thus, not impossible that, even though we are dealing here with one and the same person, *Ζιεβήλ* may well be another title or name. There is, as yet, no satisfactory etymology of this name.

44. ĀNSĀ? (CLAN NAME)

The *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* reports in its "Discourse on the country of the Khazars" that the ruler of the Khazars, called here *Ṭarxān Xāqān*, "is one of the descendants of Ānsā".[738] The Ānsā, in this instance, may be the name of the Khazar royal dynasty. Artamonov views Ānsā as a garbling of Ašina, the royal clan of the Kök Türks as reported in the Chinese sources.[739] Minorsky, in the first edition of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, placed a question mark after the word. Both he and Zaxoder compared *Ānsā* with ايشا (*see Šad* of this Word list).

In the most recent (1970) edition of the *Ḥudūd*, Minorsky rejected the possibility of restoring آنسا to *Asena*. He compares this passage (given in full in Persian on p. LXIX) with Ibn Rusta and Gardīzī who drew on the same source (Jayhānī) as the Ḥudūd. Minorsky concluded that "it is clear that the epitomizer has drastically compressed the original and should we read *A-se-na* (which no other source knows) the last trace of dyarchy would disappear from the text. Misunderstandings in Persian sources while translating from Arabic [Minorsky presumes that Jayhānī's work was in Arabic p.g.] are not uncommon and I have a strong suspicion that the author of the *Ḥudūd* in the passage ايشا له يقال الملك ولهم (*see* Ibn Rusta) has somehow misread an indistinctly written له as ولد and translated it accordingly *az farzandān*."

[737] Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 498; Dunlop *op. cit.*, pp. 30–31 etc.

[738] *Ḥudūd*, p. 162.

[739] Artamonov, *op. cit.*, pp. 170–171. *See* also Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, p. 270 who also urges this thesis, pointing out the sanctity of the Ašina/Asena clan and their reputation for judicial wisdom. He views the Khazar dual kingship as a reflection of the special place (religious-ceremonial-legal) of this clan in the Turkic world (*see* pp. 274, 279 ff. of his work).

The manuscript reading is clearly: آنسا = Ānsā (*see Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, Rukopiś Tumanskogo, p. 38b, Plate 23).

Philologically and textually the Minorsky–Zaxoder theory is appealing but not completely convincing. آنسا may just as easily be emended to read *آشنا *(Āšinā)* as *ایشا *(Īšā)*. There are no hard criteria to guide us here. Minorsky has commented that our source, itself an amalgam of several elements (*see Ḥudūd* 1970 ed. p. LXXI), was heavily indebted to a source (Jayhānī) common to both. The amalgamative character of the notice can be seen in the citing of the title *Ṭarxān* which appears here as the first name of the Qağan. Minorsky quite rightly regards this as taken from Sallām's tale as reported in ibn Xurdādhbih (*cf. Ṭarxān malik al-xazar*[740]). Thus, the account, like other passages in the *Ḥudūd* is a jumbled compilation. On the other hand, there are several arguments that can be advanced in favor of the reading *Ašina/Asena*. Firstly, there is the incontrovertible fact that the Khazars had very close ties with the Kök Türks who were led by the house of Ašina. Indeed, in their early history, as we have seen, the Khazars formed the bulk of the troops of the Kök Türks in Eastern Europe. Secondly, there is the question of the Khazar Qağanate. In the Turkic world, the assumption of the title of Qağan, especially at this time (before the devaluation of this title following the Mongol period) was an act of grave political importance. To assume this title, its claimant must have had some legal justification for it (he must have been a member of some clan recognized in the Turkic world as having the right to bear this title). The appearance of the Qağanate amongst the Khazars should most certainly be tied to the presence of a member of the Kök Türk royal family (or some other Qağanal clan) in Atıl/İtil. Artamonov's reconstruction of the events surrounding the "disappearance" of I-p'i she-koei (*see* p. 59) when viewed in this light, seems especially cogent.

"Circumstantial" historical evidence would opt for the view آنسا = *Ašina/Asena*. Philology can be used to substantiate either view. A textological approach would favor the Minorsky–Zaxoder view. Given the present state of our source material, there are no definitive remarks we can make with regard to آنسا.

With regard to *Ašina/Asena*, it is interesting to note that the clan names Asen, Asan appear in connection with the ruling dynasty of the second Bulgarian Empire. This dynasty was of Quman origin as were several of the dynasties which followed them (the Šišmans, Terters etc.[741]). The Russian

[740] Ibn Xurdādhbih, ed. de Goeje, p. 163; Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, p. 451, *see also* Muqaddasī, ed. de Goeje, p. 362.

[741] Rásonyi, *DTT*, pp. 149–150.

chronicles *(see Nikonovskaia Letopiś)* also mention several Asans (*Asanak, Asanuna, Asan* etc.) amongst the princes and dignitaries of the Golden Horde, the Noğay Horde and Bolğar.[742] Might this name be another form of *Ašina/Asena?*

In Kliaštornyi's view, the name *Ašina/Asena* is of Iranian origin: Saka *Āsāna* "worthy", "noble"; Agnic *Āṣām idem.*[743] The form of the name as we have it in the Chinese sources, *Ašina*[744] may not be entirely accurate in pronunciation due to the difficulties of transcribing foreign names in Chinese.

Khazar Toponyms

When considering the etymologies of many of the toponyms associated with Khazar history, one must bear in mind that a good number of these names are probably not of Khazar origin. In some cases, it seems that it will be necessary to investigate the numerous linguistic groupings of the North Caucasus (the greater bulk of them have only recently developed "written" languages) in our search for the origin of some Khazar place names. Iranian elements should not be ignored either; for the period just prior to the appearance of the Khazars in the North Caucasus saw considerable activity on the part of the Sassanids in this area. Balādhurī tells us that Qubādh and his son Anūširwān built or founded numerous cities and fortresses (most important of these was Bāb al-Abwāb) in the Caucasus.[745]

With these notes of caution, let us now examine the toponyms associated with Khazar history.

45. BĂLĂNJĂR

Virtually every source touching on Khazar history in the early period (the period of the Arab–Khazar wars) mentions this important North Caucasian city. Unfortunately, none of these sources gives us any clue as to its exact location. It was situated on a river of the same name (*see* Balādhurī: *al-Balanǰar* البلنجر[746]) not far from Bāb al-Abwāb.[747] It is not improb-

[742] *PSRL*, XIV, index to the *Nikonovskaia Letopiś*, p. 13.
[743] Kliaštornyi, *op. cit.*, pp. 111–112.
[744] A-shi-na, *see* Liu Mau-tsai, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 40–41.
[745] Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 194–197; Hitti, *Origins*, pp. 305–309.
[746] Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, p. 204; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīx*, ed. Houtsma, I, p. 194.
[747] Dunlop, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

able that the city took its name from the name of a tribe.[748] In the tenth century we find a people called Baranjār living in Volga Bulğaria. This was probably one grouping (remnant?) of the Balanjar/Baranjar people.[749] Masʿūdī, in the *Tanbīh* says that it was at one time the capital of the Khazars (in the *Murūj* he contradicts this saying that Samandar was formerly the Khazar capital[750]). Marquart in the *Streifzüge* suggested that Balanjar should be identified with *Varačʿan*, the capital of the North Caucasian Huns. Later, in the same work, he rescinded this suggestion.[751] After the period of Khazar–Arab wars, no mention is made of Balanjar. It is not impossible that its populace (presumably the tribe Balanjar) fled the city due to the considerable destruction it must have undergone during the wars of the seventh and eighth centuries (many battles were fought in the vicinity of the city).

Sources

Our sources are uniform (all of our sources for this name are Islamic) in transcribing this toponym: بَلَنْجَر *(Balanǰar)*

Ibn Xurdādhbih, ed. de Goeje, pp. 123–124: *Balanǰar*

Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 204, (the river Balanjar) 259: *Balanǰar*, var. *Bulunǰur* (p. 259)

Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, I, 895, 896, 898, 900, 2668, 2889, 2891, II, 291, 1531, 1560, 1582: *B.l.n.ǰ.r*

Muqaddasī, ed. de Goeje, p. 355: *B.l.n.ǰ.r*

Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīx*, ed. Houtsma, I, p. 194, II, pp. 203–204, 375, 376: *B.l.n.ǰ.r*

Ibn al-Faqīh, ed. de Goeje, pp. 287, 288, 289, 293: *B.l.n.ǰ.r*

Yāqūt, *Mujʿam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, I, pp. 729–730, 793: *B.l.n.ǰ.r*

Masʿūdī, *Kitāb at-Tanbīh*, ed. de Goeje, p. 62: *B.l.n.ǰ.r*

[748] Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, I, pp. 895–896, 898, 900; Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 16; Marquart, *Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften*, p. 96. Ibn al-Faqīh (ed. de Goeje, p. 289) attributes the building of Balanjar to a "Balanjar ibn Yāfeth". This would perhaps point to Balanjar as a tribal name (other sons of Jafeth are *Xazar* etc.).

[749] *Ibn Faḍlān*, trans. ed. Kovalevskii, p. 323 (f. 207b).

[750] Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, ed. de Goeje, p. 62; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, II, p. 7.

[751] Marquart. *Streifzüge*, pp. 16–17, 492. Lewicki ("Ludy Daghestanu", *PO* p. 93) identifies Balanjar with the "ruins of Endere near Andreevo, west of a turn of the Sulaq river". Togan also *(Umumī Türk tarihine giriş*, I, p. 57) places it at "Anderey".

Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, V, pp. 83–5, 118, 129: *Balanǰar*

Ibn Qutayba (Lewicki *Źródła arabskie*, I, p. 102): *B.l.n.ǰ.r min arḍ al-Turk*

Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam, Rukopiś Tumanskogo, p. 38b: *B.l.n.ḥ.r*. Minorsky gives "*Balanǰar* (بنحر)" whereas the MS clearly has بلنحر = *بلنجر[752]

Ibn Faḍlān, trans. ed. Kovalevskii, p. 323 = p. 207b of the facsimile: برنجار *(B.r.n.ǰār)*

Balʿamī (Dorn, "Nachrichten ueber die Chazaren", p. 513): *B.l.n.ǰ.r*

MSS

It is unnecessary to present all the manuscript forms here as this word appears everywhere the same in the Islamic sources. Thus, to prevent needless repetition a bare minimum of manuscript material (rather in the nature of illustrative material) will be given here.

Balādhurī

London, British Museum 23,264 (Taylor), f. 46v, lines 15, 17: *B.l.n.ḥ.r* (Plate 118)

Muqaddasī

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek 6033, p. 303, line 1: بلحر (dots missing) (Plate 214)

Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam

(*see* above and Plate 23): *B.l.n.ḥ.r*

Ibn Faḍlān

(*see* above and Plate 215): برنجار *(B.r.n.ǰār)*

Yāqūt

(all the Yāqūt MSS contain a section entitled *B.l.n.ǰ.r) see* Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 2226, f. 493v, line 4; f. 542v, line 5: *B.l.n.ǰ.r* (Plates 174, 175) as examples

Balʿamī

Oxford, Bodleian, Elliot 376, f. 341v, lines 1, 5, 6, 10; f. 343v, line 18: *B.l.n.ǰ.r* (Plates 156, 157)

Pronunciation: The Arabic forms give **Bălănǰăr* or **Bălănǰär*. Arabic ج *(ǰ)* may stand here for *g*. Perhaps the word should be read as **Balangar*. Unfortunately, we have no corroborative evidence from non-Islamic sources. Marquart has suggested that the name Ղունգարս *(Č'ungars)* found in the

[752] Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, p. 162.

Geography ascribed to Movsēs Xorenac'i is a mistake for *Błungar* (*Բղունգար*) or *Plungar* (*Պղունգար*) = **Bălăngăr*.[753] The complete silence of other sources with regard to a city named *Č'ungars* makes Marquart's suggestion very appealing.

Comments: بلنجر = ? Z. V. Togan has suggested that *Balanǰar* be connected with Mongol *barangar* ("rechter Flügel der Armee") though this seems highly unlikely since, as we have noted earlier, there is no evidence for the presence of Mongolian speakers in this area at this time.[754]

46. İTİL/ATIL

İtil/Atıl is the name of both the river (Volga) on whose shores the Khazar capital was situated and the capital itself. The sources on *İtil/Atıl* present a varied picture, reflecting, no doubt, the various stages in the growth of the city. Ibn Rusta, whose account contains the oldest and perhaps the most representative notices, along with ibn Xurdādhbih, of a tradition going back to al-Jarmī through al-Jayhānī (the works of these writers have not come down to us[755]) and to be found also in Gardīzī, al-Bakrī, al-Idrīsī, al-Marvazī and Mubārakšāh Marvarrūdī,[756] says that the Khazar capital is called سارعشن and that it contains another city called هبنلغ or حسلغ.[757] Iṣṭaxrī and Ibn Ḥawqal, representing another tradition,[758] call *İtil/Atıl* the capital of the Khazar state, noting also that it is divided into two parts, the larger western part called *İtil/Atıl* and the eastern part, called in ibn Ḥawqal خزران *(Xazarān)*.[759] The Cambridge Document calls the Khazar capital *Qazar*.[760]

[753] Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 492. *See also* p. 90, n. 286 above and *Geographie de Moïse Corène*, ed. trans. Soukry, (text) p. 27, (trans.) p. 37.

[754] Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, p. 191.

[755] Marquart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 24–29; Dunlop, *op. cit.*, pp. 107–108; Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie*, I, pp. 53–54; Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, pp. xvii–xviii.

[756] Zaxoder, *op. cit.*, I, p. 184.

[757] Ibn Rusta, ed. de Goeje, p. 139.

[758] Zaxoder, *op. cit.*, I, p. 185.

[759] Iṣṭaxrī, ed. de Goeje, p. 220; ibn Ḥawqal, ed. de Goeje, p. 278. Ibn Rusta (ed. de Goeje, p. 165) curiously cites the form *Xazarān* in his notice on the Rūs raids on the Ṣaqāliba. The word *Xazarān* is obviously the Persian plural of *Xazar*. It and *al-bayḍā'* an Arab translation of a Khazar toponym have not been included in the Wordlist as they are translations of native Khazar words and thus cannot really be considered as specimens of the Khazar language. In regard to *Xazarān* it is interesting

A third group of sources, Masʿūdī and the letter of the Qağan Joseph, states that the Khazar capital was divided into three parts (no names are given[761]). We may see in these varying accounts the growth of *Itil/Atıl* from one or more settlements on both sides of the Volga into a consolidated metropolis (if one can use such a word to describe a city the majority of whose inhabitants lived in the felt tents of the nomads). The expansion of Khazar urban life is not astonishing. The capital was a center of world-wide trade. Merchants from the Islamic countries, Jewish refugees from Byzantium and Turkic, Slavic and Ugrian trappers and traders brought their goods to this city (*see* pp. 107–111).

Artamonov identifies البيضاء *(al-Bayḍā')* with *Sarığšin* (he considers *al-Bayḍā'* "the white (city)" to be a translation of the Khazar **Sarığšin*). He further suggests that *Sarığšin* must be the other name of *Xazarān*.[762] Czeglédy also suggests this formula *(Ätil = al-Bayḍā' = Sarığšin)*. He is of the opinion that the Khazars transferred their capital to the Volga some time around 766, the date of the collapse of the West Kök Türkic state. The city of Atil was in existence earlier, in his view, in 627.[763] There is, however, no evidence to support these theories. We have already cited Masʿūdī's contradictory statements on the early Khazar capitals (*see* above). In one of his notices he reports that Samandar was the original Khazar capital but following its capture by Sulaymān (= Salmān) ibn Rabīʿa al-Bahīlī it was transferred to *Atıl/Itil*.[764] Masʿūdī's story, in spite of its contradictions, seems more credible. The mid-seventh century saw a number of successful Arab raids into the heart of the Khazar holdings in the North Caucasus. Prudence dictated a transfer of the Khazar seat to a more secure area. Marwān's campaign of 737 was, moreover, directed to the Volga which had now become the core of Khazaria.

Artamonov believes that the Khazar capital *Atıl/Itil* was located on the lower Volga delta, approximately 120 kilometers above Astraxań, roughly in the area of Ienotaevsk-Selitrianyi, by the ruins of first Tatar capital Saray. This area was the site of the later Saqsin.[765] Perhaps we may see in

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to note that the Russian chronicles refer to the capital of the Volga Bulğars as "Bolgary", also using a plural form.

[760] Kokovtsov, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

[761] Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, II, pp. 7–8; Kokovtsov, *op. cit.*, pp. 84–85, 102.

[762] Artamonov, *op. cit.*, pp. 388, 398.

[763] Czeglédy, "A korai kazár történelem . . ." *MTA I. O. K.*, XV., pp. 123–124. **Sarığšin* is treated separately, *see* below.

[764] Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, II, p. 7.

[765] Artamonov, *op. cit.*, pp. 390, 445.

Saqsin and in later Tsaritsyn (a popular etymology from *Sarığšin/Saqsin?*) a garbling of *Sarığšin* (?).[766] In any event, our main concern at present, is the topo-hydronym *Atıl/İtil.*

Sources

The majority of our sources for this in the Khazar period are Islamic. The listings given below are for both the name of the capital and the river.

Iṣṭaxrī, ed. de Goeje, pp. 10, 219, 220, 221, 223, 227 : اتل *('ṭ. l)*

Ibn Ḥawqal
ed. de Goeje, pp. 14, 15, 278, 281, 282, 283, 287 : اتل *('t. l)*
Kramers ed. II, pp. 386, 388, 389, 393, 394 : *(Ātul, At. l, 't. l)*

Muqaddasī, ed. de Goeje, pp. 27, 51, 355, 360, 361 : *'t. l*

Ibn Rusta, ed. de Goeje, p. 141 : *('t. l)*

Masʿūdī, *Kitāb at-Tanbīh*, ed. de Goeje, p. 62 : *('t. l)*

Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, II, pp. 7, 20, 23 (incorrectly has) : *Āmul*

Ibn Faḍlān, trans. ed. Kovalevskii, pp. 318, 322 (= pp. 208a, 210a of Mašhad MS) : *Āt. l* (*see* also Yāqūt below)

Ibn Xurdādhbih, ed. de Goeje, p. 154 has : سس which Lewicki (*Źródła arabskie*, I, p. 76) restores to *يتيل. (I think, however that de Goeje's suggested reading *تنيس *cf.* Greek *Τάναις* is to be preferred)

Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, I, pp. 112, 113, II, p. 436 : *('t. l)*

Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam, trans. Minorsky, pp. 75, 80, 99, 100, 161–163 : *(Ātil)*

Letter of the Qağan Joseph (Kokovtsov, *op. cit.*, Long Redaction, p. 31) : אטל *('ṭ. l)*

The Cambridge Document (*see* Kokovtsov, *op. cit.*, p. 36) : אטיל *(Āṭīl)*

Sefer Yosippon, ed. Hominer, p. 45 (*see* also Harkavi, *Skazaniia evreiskix pisatelei*, p. 39): אטלאך, היתל (Hominer ed.), אטל, היתל (Harkavi)

Armenian Geography (ascribed to Movsēs Xorenacʿi) ed. trans. Soukry, p. 26 : Ատիլ *(Atʿl)*; p. 27 : Թաւլդ *(Tʿald)*

Constantinus Porphyrogenitus (Bonn ed.), p. 164 ; ed. Moravcsik–Jenkins, p. 166 : *Ἀτηλ*

[766] *See* Dunlop, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

Notitiae Episcopatuum A, p. 100 (*see* Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 78): ὁ Ἀστήλ

Notitiae Geographicae A, p. 534 (*see* Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 78): "Astēl of which it is said: Astēl is the river of Khazaria; it is also a town."

Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, I, p. 356: Ἄτελ. Variants: Ἄτελ, Ἀτελῆς, Ἀτελί, Ἀταλ, Ἄτελ, Ἄταλ, (*Atel, Atal*)

These forms should be compared with Theophylactus Simocatta, *Historia* (Bonn ed.), p. 283 Ὀΐλ (name of a river in the land of the Τγὼρ) and the Hungarian forms Ἀτελκουζού [as reported in Constantinus Porphyrogenitus (Bonn ed.), p. 169] Simon de Kéza *Gesta Hungarorum* [*Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*, ed. Szentpétery (Budapest, 1937), I, p. 146]: *Etul*, "Fluvius . . . Don in Scitia oritur, qui ab Hungaris Etul nominatur" and Jordanes (*Getica*, ed. Skržinskaia, p. 150) *Athaul*, which Jordanes mistook for a people but it is probably the name of the river (Volga) along which a number of the peoples he enumerated (*Merens*, *Mordens* etc. Finnic tribes on the Volga) lived.[767]

This hydro-toponym, like a number of other well-known Khazar words has a fixed form in the Arabo–Persian sources: اتل/آتل (*Atıl/İtil*). Therefore, I have limited the presentation of manuscript material to variant readings and a few examples which illustrate the standard forms we find in our sources. In this regard, I think that one plate will suffice as illustrative material in instances when the readings coincide with those of the critical editions. All variant forms will, of course, be treated in detail.

MSS

Iṣṭaxrī

1. Leiden Rijksuniversiteit OR 3101, f. 42r, line 13: ابل وابل (Plate 82); f. 42v, lines 4, 9 (where it is a mistake): اتل; line 15: ايل (Plate 128); f. 43r, lines 20, 21: اتل *'t.l* (Plate 129)
2. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 6032, f. 92v, line 5: امل *('m.l);* line 8: اتل *('t.l)* (Plate 83); f. 92v, line 9; f. 93v, line 2; f. 94r, line 2; f. 95v, lines 3, 7: آتل *(Āṯ.l)* (Plates 216, 4, 217)

Ibn Ḥawqal

1. Leiden, Rijksuniversiteit OR 314, p. 143, lines 2, 21, 24, 25, 29; p. 144, bottom line; p. 145, lines 2, 13, 14: *'t.l [= *İtil* or *Ätil]* (Plate 5)

[767] Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie*, I, pp. 136–137.

2. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 2214, f. 38r, line 8 : *'t.l* and *'t.l*; f. 38r, line 10 ; f. 38v, line 8 : *'t.l* (*see* Plate 123 as an example)
3. Istanbul, Topkapı III Ahmet 3346, f. 106v, line 27 : *'t.l*; line 31 : *'t^{w}l* and *'t^{w}l*† (Plate 218) ; f. 107v, line 25 : *'t^{w}l*; f. 107v, penult, ult. ; f. 108r, line 8 : *'t.l* (Plate 6)

Muqaddasī

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek 6033, f. 302, ult. : *'ṭ.l* (Plate 219) ; f. 308, (Plate 220)

Ibn Rusta

London, British Museum, Add. 23,378, f. 162r, line 6 : *'?.l* line 15 : *'y l* (Plate 20)

Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 1476, f. 80r, line 1 : *'um.l* (Plate 221) ; f. 82v, line 3 : *Āṭ.l*; line 5 : *'t.l* (in this case it may be a mistake for *Am^{w}l*) (Plate 222) ; f. 83r, line 23 : اتل *('t.l)* (Plate 223)

Ibn Faḍlān

(*see* *Kniga Axmeda ibn Fadlana*, ed. trans. Kovalevskii) : p. 322 (= f. 208r of Mašhad MS), line 3 : *Āt.l*; line 7 : *'t.l* (Plate 224) ; p. 318 (= f. 210r), line 11 : *Āt.l* (Plate 225)

Ibn Xurdādhbih

1. Oxford, Bodleian, Huntington 433, f. 74v, line 5 : نس = *تَنَيْس (Tanais) (Plate 226) ; not *يتيل
2. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 2213, f. 49r, line 13 : نس (Plate 227)
3. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek 783, f. 65r, line 8 ; نيس (Plate 228)

The manuscript readings of Ibn Xurdādhbih do not provide confirmation of Lewicki's conjectured *يتيل (*see* above).

Yāqūt

1. Oxford, Bodleian, Marsh 132, f. 47v, line 17 : *'t.l*; line 19 : *Āt.l* (Plate 85)
2. London, British Museum Add. 16,649, f. 384v, line 14 : *'?.l*, line 15 : *'yl* (Plate 86)
3. London, British Museum Add. 23,371, f. 144r, line 32 : آتل (Plate 87)

† The *tāl* and *tl* of the last line are contaminations of the *bāk* ~ *yilik* theme.

4. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 2228, f. 105r, lines 12, 13: *'t.l* (Plate 88)
5. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 6601, f. 126r, lines 13, 14: *Āt.l* (Plate 89)
6. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 6040, f. 75r, lines 27, 28: *Āt.l* (Plate 229)

The two Istanbul MSS (Topkapı, III Ahmet 2715 and Köprülü 1163) (Plates 90, 91) show no divergences from the forms given above.

Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam

Tumanskii MS, f. 38b, lines 4, 6, 16, 21: *Āt.l* (Plate 23)

The Cambridge Document

Cambridge T–S loan 38, p. 4, line 17: אתיל *('tīl)* (Plate 230)

Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *DAI*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 2009, f. 105r, line 11: *ἀτηλ* (Plate 231)

Theophanes, *Chronographia*

1. Oxford, Christ Church 5, f. 236r, lines 10, 12, 13: *ἄταλ* (Plate 232)
2. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 1710, f. 291v, lines 10, 14, 16: *ἄταλ* (Plate 233)

Theophylactus Simocatta, *Historia*

Vatican 977, f. 151r, line 1: *τίλ* (Plate 19)

Pronunciation: The multitude of forms we have suggest several pronunciations which was probably the case: *Ätil*, *İtil* and perhaps a velar form *Atıl/Atul*.

Comments: Modern Turkic languages have the forms: *Ädil*, *Ätil*, *Ädāl*, *Edil*, *Idel*, *İdil*. Pritsak has formulated an etymology for this word: *Atıl* > *as/ās* ("gross", "wichtig", "vornehm") + *tıl* ~ *tal* ("Wassermenge", "Überschwemmung", "grosser Fluss", "Meer"). Both *ās/as* and *tıl* he considers "Hunnic". This hydronym he connects with the name (title?) Attila.[768]

[768] O. Pritsak, "Der Titel Attila" *Festschrift für Max Vasmer*, pp. 406–407, 409–410, 413–415.

47–48. XAMLĪJ/XAMLĪX–*XUTLUǴ/*QUTLUǴ (?)

Xamlīx is the name of a Khazar city (capital?) prominent in the Islamic sources. Ibn Xurdādhbih provides us with our most detailed notices on this city. He reports that it lies on the river flowing from the country of the Ṣaqāliba to the "Sea of Jurjān" (the Caspian).[769] In his discussion of the route of the Rūs merchants, he notes: "If they wish, they travel on the شنـ, the river of the Ṣaqāliba and pass through Xamlīx, the city of the Khazars (خمليخ مدينة الخزر) where its ruler takes a tithe from them."[770]

The "river of the Saqāliba" شنـ etc. in the MSS of Ibn Xurdādhbih (*see Atıl/İtil* above) is undoubtedly the Don (تَنَيْس — Tanais) from whence the Ruś merchants probably crossed over to the Volga and then sailed down to *Atıl/İtil—Xamlīx/Xamlīǰ*.

Marquart has suggested that Xamlīx is the eastern part of Atil/İtil. Lewicki and Zajączkowski follow him.[771] Minorsky comments: "That this town stood on the eastern bank of the Volga may be indirectly concluded from the fact that Ibn Xurdādhbih (p. 124) quotes it as the terminus of the road from Jurjān, i.e. along the eastern coast of the Caspian."[772] Zaxoder[773] has advanced the hypothesis that Balanjar, Xamlīx, Varač'an and Samander are various names of the pre-İtil Khazar capital but there is no evidence to support this view.

Minorsky's observation, as was so often true, is probably correct. Xamlīx should, in all likelihood, be located somewhere on the lower Volga. It is nowhere explicitly stated, however, that it is the same city as Atıl/İtil; indeed, Muqaddasī lists them separately.[774]

Sources

Ibn Xurdādhbih, ed. de Goeje, pp. 124, 154–155: خَمْلِيج *(Xamlīj)* (de Goeje's reading) and خَمْلِيخ *(Xamlīx)* (preferred by Lewicki)

[769] Ibn Xurdādhbih, ed. de Goeje, p. 124: ". . .from Jurjān to *Xamlīj, which is on the border of the river which flows from the country of the Ṣaqāliba and empties into the Sea of Jurjān . . ."

[770] Ibn Xurdādhbih, ed. de Goeje, p. 154. For the opening lines I prefer the readings of Lewicki *(Źródła arabskie*, I, pp. 76, 132) which are supported by the Oxford and Paris MSS.

[771] Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 18; Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie*, I, pp. 29, 115; Zajączkowski, *Ze studiów*, p. 50.

[772] Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, p. 454.

[773] Zaxoder, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 178–79, 183.

[774] Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan*, ed. de Goeje, p. 51.

al-Muqaddasī, ed. de Goeje, pp. 51,355 : *X.mlǐǰ*

Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, I, pp. 730, 793, II, p. 471 : *X.mlīx*

Ḥudūd al-Ālam (Tumanskii MS, p. 38b) : *Ḥ.m.ǰ.*

MSS

Ibn Xurdādhbih

1. Oxford, Bodleian, Huntington 433, f. 74v, line 6 : *Ḥ.līḥ* (Plate 226) ; f. 75r, line 3 : *X.līḥ* (Plate 234)
   The Oxford MS does not have the passage : الطريق بين جرجان وخمليخ مدينة الخزر (= p. 124 of de Goeje's edition).
2. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek 783, f. 53r, lines 12, 15 : *X.mlǐǰ* (Plate 235)
   In the un-numbered folio that follows the above we find: line 1: *X.ml.x*; line 3 : *X.mlīx* (Plate 236);
   f. 65r, line 8 : *? ml.ḥ* (Plate 228)
3. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 2213. This MS skips over a number of important passages (such as "the Route between Jurjān and Xamlīj").
   f. 49r, line 13 *X.līǰ* (Plate 227)

Yāqūt

1. Oxford, Bodleian, Marsh 131, f. 119r, line 15 : *Xamlīḥ* (Plate 168) ; f. 139v, line 22 : *X(j?)mlǐǰ* (Plate 169)
2. London, British Museum Add 16,649, f. 206r, line 8 : *Ḥ.ml.ḥ* (Plate 170) ; f. 223v, line 14 : *X.mlīḥ* (Plate 171)
3. London, British Museum Add. 23,371, f. 74r, line 8 : *X.mlīḥ (? X.ml.j)* (Plate 172) ; f. 80v, line 23 : *X.mlī(?)ǰ(?)* (Plate 173)
4. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 2226, f. 493v, line 4 : *X.mlīḥ* (Plate 174) ; f. 542v, line 6 *X.mlǐǰ* (Plate 175)
5. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 6600, f. 308r, line 12 : *X.mlīx* (Plate 176) ; f. 336v, line 1 : *X.mlǐǰ* (Plate 237)
6. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 6040, f. 228v, line 14 : *X.mlīx* (Plate 178) ; second reference is omitted.
7. Istanbul, Topkapı, III Ahmet 2715, f. 196v, line 14 : *X.mlīḥ* (Plate 180) ; f. 227r, line 10 : *X.mlīḥ* (Plate 181)
8. Istanbul, Köprülü 1161, f. 199r, line 9 : *Xamlǐǰ* (Plate 182)

Muqaddasī, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 6033, p. 302, last line : *Ḥ.m?l.ḥ* (Plate 219)

Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam

Tumanskii MS, p. 38b: line 10: *X.m?.ǰ* (Plate 23)

The reading is undoubtedly *خمليخ. As is well known, in Arabic manuscripts confusion of خ، ج، ح is very common. In our example here, the proximity of ـ (يخ) only reinforces the *lapsus calami* towards يج.

There is another group of sources which mention a Khazar city whose graphic form in Arabic is similar to that of *X.mlīx*. This is the tradition represented by Ibn Rusta, Gardīzī, the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, al-Bakrī and Marwazī:

Ibn Rusta

ed. de Goeje, p. 139: حلع, هب نلع *(Ḥ.?.?.l.ʿ), (H.b ?.l.ʿ)*

MS: London, British Museum Add. 23,378, f. 160v, line 6: هب نلع *(Ḥ.b n.l.ʿ)* and حلع *(Ḥ.?.?.l.ʿ)* (Plate 184)

Gardīzī

[see MHK, p. 153: حلع *(Ḥ.?.l.ʿ)]*

MSS: 1. Cambridge, King's College 213, f. 190v, line 4: *Ḥ(?) ???ǧ (?)* (Plate 186)

2. Oxford, Bodleian, Ouseley 240, p. 474, line 4: حلع *(Ḥ.?.l.ʿ)* (Plate 187)

Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam

Tumanskii MS, p. 38b, line 10: خثلغ *(X.t.l.ǧ)* (Plate 23)

al-Bakrī[775] حثلغ *(Ḥ.ṯ.l.ǧ)*

al-Marwazī[776] حلغ *(Ḥ.?.?.l.ǧ)*

This city is presented (in ibn Rusta) as one of the parts of the dual city which made up the Khazar capital (the other part being **Sarığšin)*.[777] Dunlop[778] has assumed that the tradition presented above (which is earlier than the accounts in which *Xazarān—Atıl/İtil* figure as the dual city comprising the Khazar capital) corresponds to the later tradition, i.e. **Sarığšin—X.t.l.ǧ = Xazarān–Atıl/İtil*. The Arab accounts are extremely confusing, presenting, as they do, a variety of traditions each with its own nomenclature, concerning the Khazar cities. It cannot be determined, at

[775] M. Defrémery "Fragments des geographes et d'historiens arabes et persans inédits, relatifs aux anciens peuples du Caucase et de la Russie méridionale" *JA*, 13 (1849), p. 462. *See* also Zaxoder, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 189–190.

[776] al-Marwazī, ed. trans. Minorsky, (Arabic text) p. 21, (Eng. trans.) p. 33 (= *Kh.t balıgh*).

[777] Ibn Rusta, ed. de Goeje, p. 139: "Their (capital) city is Sār'šn and in it is another city which is called Hb ?l' or Ḥ? ?l'."

[778] Dunlop, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

present, whether these traditions are dealing with one and the same (dual) city or a variety of different cities. The striking resemblance between خملیخ/خملیج and حلع has led to the formulation of an hypothesis which argues for the identification of the two.

Németh reads هب بلع and حلع as *خنبلغ *Xanbalığ = *Qanbalıq and compares it with the *Caan Balic*[779] *(*Qa'an Baliq)* of Marco Polo who states that this is the name of Peking in Mongol times. He equates these forms of ibn Rusta with *Xamlix*.[780] Minorsky, with regard to the latter, proposes **Xammalix* coming from **Xam-balıq* but comments that the "first element still offers difficulty".[781] Zajączkowski derives *Xamlīx* from Turkic *qamağ, qamu* ("all", "entire") + *balıq* ("city") = **Qamu-balıq*, **Qama-balıq*, **Qambalıq* with the assimilation of *mb–mm* = **Qamalıq*. He translates this as "Całogród", "Wszystek gród" and compares this with the other form given in ibn Rusta هَبنلع for which he offers the reading **Hep Balıq (hep = qamu)*, suggesting also that this may indicate the presence of two dialects.[782]

Of all the theories given above, Zajączkowski's views are, I think, least acceptable. We have no analogous material to support such an interpretation. Moreover, the *hep* exists only in Ottoman Turkish and the Crimean dialect influenced greatly by it (*see* Radloff, II/2, p. 1791).

Ibn Rusta's form حلع lends itself easily to Németh's theory. One is bothered, however, by the حلع of Gardīzī and the other standard-bearers of this tradition in which a letter has been dropped. The form we seem to have here is rather *خثلغ *(*Xutluğ = *Qutluğ, DTS*, p. 473, I/1 "obladaiuščii žiznennoi siloi", "daiuščii žiznennuiu silu . . .", II/1 "sčastlivyi", "ispytyvaiuščii sčast'e", "prinosiaščii sčast'e, uspex, udaču", "blagodatnyi . . .", /2 "blagoslovennyi", "sviatoi . . .").

Thus, though evidence can be presented in favor of the identification of *خملیخ and *خنبلغ (= *Qanbalıq?) ("the city of the Qan"?), we should not preclude the possibility that these very similar forms may also represent two *different* Khazar cities. This is why I have listed them as number 47 and 48 in the Word list.

[779] *Cambalu, Cambaluc* according to Olschki [*see* L. Olschki, *Marco Polo's Asia* (Berkeley–Los Angeles, 1960), p. 88n]. *Cambalu, Cambaluc* (which Olschki views as a transcription of "Khanbalıgh") is very close to our form *Xamlīx*.

[780] Németh, *HMK*, pp. 81–82, 208.

[781] Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, p. 454. Minorsky apparently retained this view, for in his additional notes to the posthumously published second edition of the *Ḥudūd*, he stated (p. Ixxxi) that "**Kham līkh* cannot be *Khan-balīkh* as already stated by Marquart". His reference is to Marquart, *Komanen*, pp. 70–71. There, Marquart suggested خملیخ/هب‌بلغ or خیبلغ = *qapı(ğ) balıq*.

[782] Zajączkowski, *Ze studiów*, p. 54.

Thus, we may conclude that (1) خملیخ contains the element *malıq/balıq*. (2) It is probably a somewhat garbled form of *Qan balıq* (*> Xan malıq > Xammalıq > Xammalix*). (3) The tradition found in ibn Rusta, Gardīzī et al., حلع probably masks *خنبلغ *(xanbalığ)*. This is reinforced by the other transcription of this term (found only in ibn Rusta and perhaps in the *Kitāb Ākām al-Marjān*[783]) : هب‌بلع where the second element is obviously بلغ *balığ* ("city" etc.). هب is perhaps *هن *Han*. (4) The forms found in Gardīzī *et al.* may refer to to yet another designation for this city ختلغ the orthography of which is so close to *خنبلغ as to cause confusion of the two. Not to be excluded is the possibility that ختلغ is simply a garbling of خنبلغ with popular etymological elements added (حلغ being garbled to حلع in the written sources used by Gardīzī et al. *Qutluğ* was a very common element in Turkic names-titles and hence familiar to our sources who in an unpointed, *ḥaraka*-less حلع in reference to the Turkic world would see *ختلغ).

A major difficulty in the formulation خملیخ/خنبلغ = *Qanbalıq* lies in the use of the lesser title *Qan* (an objection already raised by Marquart, *Komanen*, p. 71). The *Cambalu* etc. of Marco Polo only indicates developments of this term on Mongol soil *(Qağanbaluq > Qa'an baluq > Qān baluq > Qammaluq)*. A change of *ağa* to *a'a*, common to Middle Mongolian,[784] is, as far as we know, not known to Khazar or Turkic as a whole at this time. We are not obliged, however, to posit an original *Qağanbalıq*. *Qanbalıq* was, perhaps, used as a *terminus technicus*, the word for "capital" and did not imply the hierarchical distinctions existing, then, between *Qağan* and *Qan*.

49. SAMANDAR (SĀMĀNDĀR)

In the period prior to Marwān's campaign (737) we hear much in the Arab sources of a Khazar city called Samandar. According to Mas'ūdī, it was once the Khazar capital. Samandar was located in the North Caucasus. Its exact location cannot, however, be determined. Minorsky thinks that it was near or at Tarqu in the north-eastern Caucasus not far from Maxač-qal'a.[785] Togan places it on the Terek river and considers Kizliar (Qızlyar) the site upon which the city once stood.[786]

[783] *See* V. Minorsky, "The Khazars and the Turks in the *Ākām al-Marjān*" *BSOS*, IX (1937–39), esp. pp. 142–145.

[784] *See* N. Poppe, *Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies*, pp. 15–16.

[785] Minorsky, *History of Sharvān*, p. 106. *See* also Lewicki "Ludy Daghestanu" *PO*, (1963) nv. 2 (46), p. 101.

[786] Z. V. Togan, "Völkerschaften des Chazarenreiches im neunten Jahrhundert" *KCsA*, 3 (1940), p. 47 and his *Umumī Türk tarihine giriş*, I, p. 57.

Sources

Our sources for this word are primarily Islamic. The Georgian chronicles are totally ignorant of the city as are also Movsēs Dasxuranc'i and Ł**ewond.** This is quite suspicious, but it is possible that they knew the city by another name.

Our Islamic sources are uniform in their spelling of this name which shows that the city was well-known to the Muslim world.

Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, p. 197 : سَمَنْدَر *(Samandar)*

Ibn Xurdādhbih, ed. de Goeje, pp. 63, 64, 123, 124 : *Samandar*

Iṣṭaxrī, ed. Goeje, pp. 219, 222, 223, 227 : *Samandar*

Ibn Ḥawqal, ed. de Goeje, pp. 14, 277, 282, 287 : *Samandar* (Kramers ed.) I, p. 15 ; II, pp. 389, 393, 394, 398 : *Samandar*

Muqaddasī, ed. de Goeje, pp. 51, 355, 361 : *Samandar*

Ibn al-Faqīh, ed. de Goeje, pp. 288, 298 : سندر *(S.m.n.d.r)*

Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam, Tumanskii MS, p. 38b : *S.m.n.d.r*

Letter of Qağan Joseph (Kokovtsov, *op. cit.*), p. 31 : סמנדר *(S.m.n.d.r)*

Movsēs Xorenac'i, *Geographie*, ed. Soukry, p. 27 : *Մսենդր (Msĕndr)* which Marquart (*Streifzüge*, p. 58) proposes should be read as **Սմենդր (Smĕndr)*

MSS

As with a number of other Khazar words well-known to the Muslim world, the forms of *Samandar* are uniform in the manuscripts. Thus, a complete presentation of the manuscript material will not be given.

Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī

Istanbul, Topkapı, III Ahmet 2956/2, f. 190v, line 9 : *S.m.n.d.r* (Plate 133)

Ibn Xurdādhbih

1. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek 783, f. 52v, bottom line : *S.m.n.d.r* (Plate 238); unnumbered page after ff. 52v–53r, line 5 *Sam.nd.r* (Plate 236)
2. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 2213, f. 40v, line 3 : *S.m.n.d.r* (Plate 199)

Iṣṭaxrī

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek 6032, f. 92v, line 5 : *S.m.?.d.r* (Plate 83) ;

f. 93v, line 9 : *S.m.n.d.r;* last line : *Sam.ndar* (Plate 216) ; f. 95v, lines 3, 4 : *S.m.n.d.r* (Plate 217)

Ibn Ḥawqal

Leiden, Rijksuniversiteit OR 314, p. 143, line 21 : *S.m.n.dār, S.m.n.d.r* (Plate 239) ; p. 145, line 9 : *Samandar;* line 19 : *S.m.n.d.r* (Plate 5)

Muqaddasī

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek 6033, p. 308, line 12 : *S.m.y.d.r* (Plate 220)

The manuscript of the Short Version of Joseph's letter does not contain this word.

Pronunciation: Since no long vowels are indicated in either the Arabic or Hebrew forms and the Armenian has ě (Šwā), the reading should be **Sämändär.*

Comments: Marquart suggests the reading **Sumundur* adding : "ursprünglich Name eines Chazarenstammes" and cites Balādhurī (*see*, de Goeje edition, p. 197, line 18) as his authority for this statement.[787] Samandar, however, is mentioned here as a place name rather than as a tribal name. Marquart is perhaps more correct when he points to the *Σαμάνδρεις* mentioned as one of the peoples of Gog and Magog in the B Version of the Alexander tale.[788] Another suggestion along this line, proposed by Minorsky, is the possibility of a link between the *Ζαβενδὲρ* of Theophylactus Simocatta[789] ("It is also said that the Zabender [a "Hunnic" people p.g.] stem from the tribe of the Ouar and Xounni") and Samandar. Minorsky also cites the place name *Semendria*, today *Smederevo* in Serbia.[790] Such a solution to our problem is appealing but it needs further substantiation, something our sources do not provide at present. V. T. Egorov cites names such as *Kizimer, Endimer, Semender, Imender* etc. and suggests that these names were "originally the names of pre-Bulğar Čuvaš tribes and clans."[791] This, like

[787] Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 500.

[788] *Ibid.*

[789] Theophylactus Simocatta, *Historia* (Bonn ed.), p. 286.

[790] Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān*, p. 106, n. 2, *cf.* Hung. *Szendrő.*

[791] Egorov, "Etnogenez čuvašei po dannym iazyka" *Sovetskaia Etnografiia*, No. 3 (1950), p. 89.

so many other theories proposed with regard to these place-names etc. needs substantiation.

Another approach which should not be overlooked is the possibility of a native Palaeo-Caucasian or Iranian origin for *Samandar*.

50. SĀRIĞŠIN

Sources

Ibn Rusta

ed. de Goeje, p. 139 : سارعشن *(Sār.ʿš.n)*

MS : London, British Museum Add 23,378, f. 160v, line 5 : *Sār.ʿš.n* (Plate 184)

Gardīzī

see MHK, p. 153 : سارغشن *(Sār.ğš.n)*

MSS : 1. Cambridge, King's College 213, f. 190v, line 3 : *?.bārʿš?*, barely legible (Plate 186)

2. Oxford, Bodleian, Ouseley 240, p. 474, line 4 : سارغش *(Sār.ğ.š)* (Plate 187)

Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam

Tumanskii MS, p. 38b, line 10: ساوعر *(Sāwʿ.r?, Sār.ʿ.r? = *Sār.ğ.š?)* (Plate 23)

al-Bakrī : بارعيش *(Bārʿīš)*[792]

al-Marwazī : سارعس *(Sār.ʿ??/s[?])*[793]

Risāla fī' l-Aqālīm

see, el-Cāḥiẓ, *Hilāfet ordusunun menkıbeleri*, p. 34 = f. 209v of Köprülü 1623 : سارغشن *(Sārağš.n)*

Isḥāq ibn al-Ḥusayn, *Kītāb Ākām al-Marjān fī dhikr al-Madā'in al-Mašhūra fī kull Makān*

see Minorsky, "The Khazars and the Turks in the *Ākām al-Marjān*" *BSOS*, IX (1937–39), p. 142 : الشاوش=*سارغشن *(Sārığš.n)*

Pronunciation: The *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, al-Marwazī, al-Bakrī and the *Ākām al-Marjān* have corruptions of ibn Rusta, Gardīzī and the anonymous *Risālā* *. . . سارغش *(Sar.ğ.š ?)*.

[792] *See* Defrémery, "Fragments" *JA*, 13 (1849), p. 462 and Zaxoder, *op. cit.*, I, p. 189.

[793] Minorsky, *Al-Marwazī* (Arabic text), p. 21 ; Zaxoder, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

Comments: It is not difficult to recognize the Turkic word *Sarı/sarığ* (Radloff, IV/1, pp. 319–320 *sarı*, Alt., Tel., Leb., Qır., QQır., Osm., Qum., Qaz. T.) = *sarıq* "gelb", "bleich" = *sarıq* Uyğ. "*idem*" (*see* Caferoğlu, *Uyg. sözl.* p. 152 where the more correct form *sarığ* is given). This form of the word was still used in Maḥmud Kāšğarī's time (eleventh century) where we find *sārığ* and *sarığ*.[794] This is the older form and was presumably the form in the time of the Orxon inscriptions (the word does not appear in the inscriptions). The final *ğ* has been lost in most of the modern Turkic dialects with the exception of the Turkī group where Üzbek, for example, has *sarıq* (final *ğ* becoming *q* here). If we divide the forms given here as *Sarığ-š. n/š.r*, we clearly see the Old Turkic [not Oğuric, the latter would have been **Šarığ*, *cf.* Čuvaš *šurĕ* ("white") and Hungarian *sár/sárga* (šār/šārga) "yellow"[795]] *sarığ* and *š?n/r* (meaning unclear). The name can be translated as "yellow ? ? ?".[795a] Attempts have been made to connect this Khazar city with "al-Bayḍā'" of the Arabic sources. We know absolutely nothing regarding the location of al-Bayḍā'. Moreover, the semantic parallel is tenuous. Al-Bayḍā' means "the white (city)" while in *Sarığšin* we clearly have *sarığ* ("yellow"). The problem is compounded by the presence of numerous "white cities", "white forts" etc. in the region and by the apparent blurring or confusion in our sources regarding "white" and "yellow". Attempts to explain *Sarığšin* as an Old Čuvaš (Oğuric) form are not convincing. It is clearly *sarığ*. As we have seen above, Hungarian which borrowed this from an Oğuric Turkic language has it in the meaning "yellow" (modern Mongolian also has it in this meaning, see *Russko–Mongol'skii Slovar'* ed. Damba-Rinčine et al., p. 169, *see* discussion of this problem in *Sarkel* below). This must have been the original Altaic meaning and the Čuvaš form may be regarded as a later or secondary development (or perhaps a dialectical form). According to the *Risāla fī' l-Aqālīm Sarığš.n/r* was located in the steppe.[796] Minorsky considers *Saqsīn/Saxsīn* of Mongol times to be a haplology of *Sārığšin* or **Sārığsın* ("yellow tomb"[797]). The later, Russian *Tsaritsyn* (popularily etymologized from *Sarığšin/Sarığsin?*) would

[794] *See* Kāšğarī, *Dīvān*, ed. Atalay, pp. 188, 516. *See* also Brockelmann, *Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz*, p. 172.

[795] Gombocz, *BTL*, p. 114.

[795a] Perhaps *šın* (*cf.* Kāšğarī, III, p. 140 "throne)) = "City of the Yellow (Golden) Throne".

[796] el-Cāḥiz, *Hilāfet ordusunun menkıbleri*, p. 34.

[797] Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, p. 453 and (1970 ed.) p. lxxxi.

certainly point to this. If this is so, we could then locate Sārıǧšın roughly around the area of present day Volgograd (Stalingrad, Tsaritsyn) on the lower Volga.

51. SARKEL

In 838, the Byzantine Emperor, Theophilus, at the request of the Khazar Qağan, dispatched his *spatharokandidatos*, Petronas Kamatēros and a group of engineers to build a fortress for the Khazars on the Don.[798] Artamonov believes he has found the site on which Sarkel was constructed (the left shore of the Don, near the "stanitsa Tsimlianskaia" *see* pp. 67–69, 76–77).

Sources

The fortress is mentioned only in Byzantine and Hebrew sources.

Constantinus Porphyrogenitus

DAI: Σάρκελ (Bonn ed.) pp. 80, 177, 179, 181, var. p. 177: *σαρκελκὲ*; ed. Moravcsik–Jenkins, pp. 64, 182, 184, 186 var. p. 182: *Σαρκελκὲ*.

MS: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 2009, f. 117v, line 2: *σάρκελ (Sarkel)* (Plate 240); f. 118r, lines 13, 16 (Plate 241); f. 118v, line 7 (Plate 74); f. 119r, line 10 (Plate 242); f. 120r, lines 1, 4 (Plate 243); f. 121v, line 11 (Plate 244)

Theophanes Continuatus

(Bonn ed.), pp. 122, 124: *Σάρκελ*

Scylitzes-Cedrenus

(Bonn ed.), II, p. 129: *Μάρκελ, Σάρκελ*

MSS: 1. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek Cod. Hist. GR. 35, f. 35v, line 19: *σάρκελ* (Plate 245)

2. Vatican 977, f. 70r, line 21: *Sarkel* (Plate 246)

(Moravcsik cites the following variants for this word *see*, *Byzantinoturcica*,II, p. 269: *σάρκελλον, σάρβηλ*).

[798] Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *DAI* (Bonn ed.), pp. 177–179; ed. Moravcsik–Jenkins, pp. 182, 184. Theophanes Continuatus (Bonn ed.), pp. 122–124; Scylitzes-Cedrenus (Bonn ed.), II, pp. 129–130.

Kokovtsov, *op. cit.*, (Hebrew text) p. 31, (trans.) p. 102: שרכיל *(Š.r.kīl/Ś.rkīl)*. Two epigraphs of the Biblical Codex No. 51 in the Firkovič collection:[799]: שרקל, סרקל.

Pronunciation: The Byzantine forms may be read as either *Sarkel* or *Šarkel* as σ may stand for both *s* and *š*. The Hebrew forms are also ambiguous. ש depending on pointing (which is lacking here) may be read as either *š* (this is the more common usage in transcribing foreign names) or *s* (going back to a *ś*). The form given as סרקל may only be read as *S.rq.l.* The *s* is unambiguous here. In effect, a case can be made for either reading. If the סרקל of the Firkovič collection does, indeed, represent Khazar tradition (and is not one of Firkovič's forgeries), this would have to be the accepted reading *(*Sarqil)*.

Comments: Constantine Porphyrogenitus tells us that in Khazar the name Sarkel meant "the white quarters" *(ἄσπρον ὁσπίτιον)*.[800] The Continuator of Theophanes phrases this somewhat differently using the more classical terms *λευκὸν δικημα* ("white dwelling").[801] Both of these translations would favor a reading of our forms as Oğuric **Šarkil (šar = šγrə̂* of Čuvaš "white", "light", "bright" coming from **šarığ* "yellow", "white"[802]) If, however, we accept the other reading, **Sarkil*, the first element would have to be translated as "yellow" *(sarı)*. The testimony of Constantine Porphyrogenitus and the Continuator of Theophanes make a strong case, however, for the Oğuric forms *šar/šarı* = Modern Čuvaš *šγrə̂*. The confusion of these two colors is not impossible. They are indeed close in the spectrum. Gombocz, in his discussion of the Hungarian *sár/sárga* gives the following Mongolian and Manču forms of this Altaic root: "mong. Kow. *šira*, *šara* 'jaune', 'la bile, acreté d'estomac'; *širaxan* 'assez jaune', 'un peu jaune'; *šira-* 'jaunir'; *širğa-* 'isabelle', 'de couleur isabelle'; *š. morin* 'cheval couleur isabelle'; burj. Castr. *šara*; kalm. Jülg. *šara*; mandschu. Gab. *šara-* 'weiss werden', 'bleichen'."[803] There is evidence that not all Oğuric dialects used

[799] *See* A. Harkavy, H. L. Strack, *Catalog der hebräischen Bibelhandschriften der kaiserlichen öffentlichen Bibliothek in St. Petersburg* (SPb., 1875), pp. 74–75 and Kokovtsov, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

[800] Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *DAI* (Bonn ed.), p. 177.

[801] Theophanes Continuatus (Bonn ed.), p. 122.

[802] Gombocz, *BTL*, p. 114. Čuvaš also has *Sară* "zëltyi" (which, is probably a borrowing from Qazan Tatar); *cf. also* L. Ligeti, "A kazár *Σάρκελ* név jelentéséhez" *MNy*, XXXII (1936), p. 45.

[803] Gombocz, *BTL*, p. 114.

šarı/šarıǧ to designate "white" at this time (*cf.* Hung. *sár/sárga* meaning "yellow").

Czeglédy and Harmatta have examined the second element in *Sarkel* and derive it from an Iranian word *gil* [Old Iranian **gṛda* "house", "living place", "family", "household"[804] which in South-western Iranian developed into *gil (cf. *zṛd = dil)* and in North-western Iranian produced **gṛda-* **gird—*guli/*gali*. This change took place in Sassanian times and according to Harmatta our word probably entered Turkic between the sixth and tenth centuries]. Harmatta cites a number of other such loanwords: Turkic: *otağ/otaq* "Zelt" – Soǧd. *'wt'k*;[805] T. *känt* "Stadt" – Soǧd. *k.nδ*; T. *čadır/čatır* "Zelt" — Pers. *čādar*. Harmatta has shown that *kel/kil* could have entered Turkic [at present only Osm. *(gil)* and Čuvaš *(kil)* have this word] only via a South-western Iranian language (probably Persian).[806] The *(ἄσπρον) δοσπίτιον* of Constantine and the *(λευκὸν) οἴκημα* of the Continuator of Theophanes accurately translate *kel/kil*.

The case presented by Harmatta is attractive but it does not address itself to the Ural–Altaic aspects of the question. Räsänen in his researches into Ural–Altaic etymologies[807] has offered the following picture: "Finn. *kylä* 'Dorf', 'Nachbarhaus', 'Besuch'; Vog. *kül* 'Haus'. Tü.: Čuv. *kil* 'Haus' auch *kül*, osm. *gil* 'la famille', 'le chez soi', 'l'habitation' Äjnallu *-gil* 'Anhänger von ... Jak. *külä* 'Vorhaus', 'Hausflur' *külä* (< ? Tung.) vgl. alte chasarische Stadtnamen *Es-kil, Es-gil* [the Bulğar tribe اسغل p.g.] 'alte Stadt', *Sar-kel* 'weisse Stadt'. Tung. Vas. *gülę* 'Hütte', *gülęsēg* 'Dorf'."

Thus, is *kel/kil* to be viewed as an Iranian loanword or as a native Ural–Altaic element? This question, in turn, raises a host of others which cannot be answered at present. Is one to view *kil/kel* as part of the common lexical material of Ural–Altaic (pre-supposing that one accepts the Ural–Altaic hypothesis) or might it not be a loanword from one to the other in some very ancient period? Both suggestions would certainly preclude the possi-

[804] Compare this with Slavic *grad* Germanic *gaard, Garten* etc.

[805] This is a complex question. Some of the correspondences are quite clear, others are open to dispute. Thus, *otağ* is present in Mongol and various Tungus dialects (mo. *otoǧ*, lam. *otu*, Manču *otok* etc.) and not just in Turkic (*see*, G. Doerfer, "Die Entsprechung des türkischen Langvokale im Tungusischen" *UAJb*, 40 (1968), p. 42). If the word is an Iranian loanword it must have been a very ancient borrowing. The reverse possibility, that *otağ* is a Turkic loanword in Soǧdian should not be excluded.

[806] J. Harmatta, "A kazár *kil* szó magyarázatához" *MNy*, XLIX (1953), pp. 178–183; K. Czeglédy, "A kazár *kil-kel* eredete" *MNy*, XLIX (1953), p. 177.

[807] M. Räsänen, "Uralaltaische Wortforschungen" *Studia Orientalia*, XVIII, 3 (1955), p. 5.

bility of its being an Ancient Iranian loanword in either Altaic or Uralic (or the hypothetical Ural–Altaic) as the *-rd* > *-l* change took place in Middle Persian (third–eighth centuries)[808] long after the breakup of the hypothetical Ural–Altaic unity (or even Altaic unity). If *kel/kil* is an Iranian loanword in Altaic or Uralic it could only have been borrowed after the third century A. D., but how it could have travelled so far to the scattered Uralic and Altaic speakers cannot be traced.

Thus, we are obliged, I believe, to "loosen" the rather rigid theories that have been put forward as solutions to this question.

Tomaschek suggested the identification of Sarkel with Бѣла Вежа of the Russian chronicles.[809] Marquart noted that the chronicles make no mention, in their notice on the fall of the Khazars in 965, of Itil but only of Běla veža. He concluded that Itil and Běla veža must be one and the same.[810] Zaxoder offers a variation of this theme. He suggests that Běla veža was one part of *Atil/Itil*.[811] The text, as was pointed out above (*see*, p. 82) is open to a variety of interpretations. Moreover, "white" or "yellow" fortresses are not toponymical rarities in Eastern Europe (*cf. Akkerman* = *Aq-Kerman, Beograd, Fehérvár* etc.[812]). Al-Bayḍā' of the Arabic sources (which may have been on the lower Volga[813]) as well as *Sarıǧšin* attest to the wide-spread use of the words "white" and "yellow" in toponyms of Khazar times. Zaxoder suggests that the term "white" was chosen because the building bricks used at that time had a bleached appearance (he also

[808] I. M. Oranskii, *Vvedenie v iranskuiu filologiiu* (Moskva, 1960), p. 214.

[809] W. Tomaschek, *Die Goten in Taurien*, p. 30; Zajączkowski (*Ze studiów*, pp. 54–55) follows this and takes it a step further by identifying Sarkel-Běla Věza with al-Bayḍā'.

[810] Marquart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 1, 3.

[811] Zaxoder, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 192–193. *See also* Pletneva's (Pletneva, *op. cit.*, pp. 27–51) long discussion of the question.

[812] *Cf. also* the fortress *Ἄσπρον κάστρον* cited by Constantinus Porphyrogenitus (*DAI*, ed. Moravcsik–Jenkins, p. 168) as well as the Čuvaš place names *Šur-xun* and *Sar-xun* "Belyi xan" and "Rusyi xan" (Ašmarin, *Bolgary i čuvaši*, p. 56).

[813] For attempts to locate al-Bayḍā', *see* Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, pp. 296ff. [Togan discusses here, with extensive commentary, the text (reproduced) of Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī's notice on Marwān's 737 campaign into Khazaria during which al-Bayḍā' (noted as the residence of the Qaǧan: "The city al-Bayḍā' in which the Xāqān, the king of the Khazars lives" (Topkapı MS, III Ahmet Ktph. 2956/II, f. 194r, *see* Plate 105) figures prominently]. An opposing view to Togan's *Ṣaqāliba* theories, with regard to this notice, can be found in S. G. Kliaštornyi, "Drevneišee upominanie slavian v nižnem Povolž'e" *Vostočnye istočniki po istorii narodov Iugo-Vostočnoi i Tsentral'noi Evropy*, ed. Tveritinova, I, pp. 16–18. The geography is still very much in dispute.

notes that "white" could refer to the Khazar nobility *cf.* Iṣṭaxrī's "white" Khazars as opposed to the masses, the *qara xazar*).[814] Sarkel, in my view, cannot be identified with *Atil/İtil* for simple geographical reasons. The latter was on the Volga and the former was on the Don. This is clear in our sources (it should be noted, however, that the Arabs, on occasion confused the lower Don with the Volga). The absence of any reference to Sarkel in the Islamic sources is disturbing and has yet to be explained. This has been viewed as an argument in favor of identifying al-Bayḍā' with Sarkel. This is impossible if we recall that Sarkel was built in 838 whereas al-Bayḍā' is mentioned in Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī's notice on Marwān's 737 campaign (*see* n. 813). More likely is the fact that the countryside (Don–Donets–lower Volga) was dotted with white forts, castles etc.[815]

Németh and Pelliot view *Sarkel* as an Oğuric word, i.e. *Šarkil* (Gombocz suggests it may be either Oğuric or Common Turkic).[816] It is, however, impossible to determine from this one word the type of Turkic spoken by the Khazars. We must bear in mind that the local population of *Sarkel/Šarkil* (the sedentary population), as the archaeological evidence shows, was Oğuric, similar in culture to the Volga and Danubian Bulğars. It is very likely that they were the descendants of one of the Bulğar tribes conquered by the Khazars after the breakup of Magna Bulgaria. Theophanes and Nicephorus report that one of the five tribes of Qubrat's state crossed over to the Don and settled there.[817] Perhaps it is this tribe (the Quturğurs?) who gave the name to the fortress (and in all likelihood provided the manpower to build it).

[814] Zaxoder, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 193–194. *See also* the comments of Constantinus Porphyrogenitus *(DAI*, ed. Moravcsik–Jenkins, c. 37, p. 168) with regard to the (in his day) deserted city (one of many) named *Ἄσπρον* near the Dnester.

[815] Pletneva, *op. cit.*, p. 43 has shown that "white forts were an integral and most characteristic feature of the entire culture of the Don region in the 8th, 9th centuries". Pletneva is undoubtedly right *(ibid.)* in pointing out that Sarkel was probably a technical term, the generic name for the numerous white fortresses of the area. One may ask, in this connection, why of all the Khazar words and terms used in Arabic account, this al-Bayḍā' alone is translated, not transcribed?

[816] Németh, *HMK*, p. 214; Pelliot, "Quelques noms turcs d'hommes et de peuples finissant en *-ar*" *Œuvres Posthumes*, II, pp. 214–215; Gombocz, *BTL*, p. 200.

[817] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, I, pp. 356–358; Nicephorus, *Breviarium* (Bonn ed.), pp. 38–39.

Movsēs Dasxuranc'i, in his account of the visit of the Armenian bishop Israyēl to Ałpʿ Ḥutʿuēr (c. 681–682) which resulted in the conversion of the latter to Christianity, makes frequent reference to the capital of the North Caucasian Huns: Varačʿan.[818] The name is also known to Pseudo-Movsēs Xorenacʿi who notes that the kingdom of the North Caucasian Huns "was located to the north (of Darband) near the sea. In the west, by the Caucasus, is the town of the Huns, Varačʿan . . ."[819]

Minorsky identifies this city with the place name, *Warthān*[820] (where in 733–734, Maslama met the Khazar Qağan) and *W.ršān/W.dšān*, a large river, 20 farsaxs from *Atıl/Ītil*, which forms the first stop in the nomadic cycle of the Qağan Joseph and his entourage when they leave their capital in April (it is probably the *yaylaq* "summer pasturage").[821] These, in turn, he proposes to connect with Berzilia (all containing the element *Bar/Var*). He emends Yaʿqūbī's ورثان to *ورشان (**Warašan = Varačʿan)* and notes that ورثان has nothing to do with the town on the Araxes,[822] mentioned by the Islamic geographers.[823]

Artamonov places Varačʿan in the area of present day Buinaksk in Dağistan.[824] Minorsky proposes the *aul* Bašlı (earlier Baršlı — "perhaps

[818] Dasxuranc'i, *History*, trans. Dowsett, pp. 155, 163, 167.

[819] K. Patkanov, "Iz novago spiska geografii pripisyvaemoi Moiseiu Xorenskomu" *Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosveščeniia*, CCXXVI (Mart, 1883), p. 31; *Géographie de Moïse de Corène*, ed. Soukry, p. 27.

[820] Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīx*, ed. Houtsma, II, p. 381.

[821] *See* Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, p. 453. Both Kokovtsov (*op. cit.*, p. 86) and Dunlop (*op. cit.*, pp. 43–44) give a good survey of the attempts at decipherment and identification of these names. Dunlop, following Togan (*Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, p. 298n.) places *Warathān*, which he identifies with *Varačʿan*, between Bakū and Darband. Marquart (*Streifzüge*, p. 19) connects *W.ršān* with the mountain Warsān in Yehudah Hal-Levi's *Book of Kuzari* [the Arabic text — the work was originally written in Arabic — gives the form ורסדן (in Hebrew letters). The Munich Hebrew manuscript has ורסאן. Hirschfeld's edition of the Arabic text (in Arabic letters), p. 68, has *Jabāl Warsān*]. Marquart does this by an emendation in Joseph's letter of the sentence "to the great river W. . ." to read "to the great mountain W. . .", Kokovtsov remains rather sceptical of the whole formulation (*see*, Marquart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 19–20 and Kokovtsov, *op. cit.*, p. 86–87, n. 4).

[822] *See also* the desert *W. rṭan* mentioned by Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, pp. 206, 209. For Warthān on the Araxes *see* Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 176.

[823] Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān*, pp. 93–94.

[824] Artamonov, *op. cit.*, p. 186. On page 208 he suggests Varačʿan = Wabandar = Wanandar = Balanǰar!

*Barašlı") "which lies on the river Gumri (. . .Humri?) which flows north of the Boghan (Buam) considered as the center of the Qaytaq territory."[825]

Togan, with Dunlop following him, views these forms, *Varač-* and *Barš-* as tribal names (this tribe might be the Barsil etc.; though a number of linguistic hurdles would have to be overcome before such an identification could be made with any certainty). The *Bułkʿ* of Movsēs Xorenacʿi, mentioned by Dunlop in this regard [he says that they form a single people with the Khazars (this has yet to be proven)] are probably a Bulğar tribe. Xorenacʿi's account is quite garbled both in its transcriptions of tribal and place names as well as chronology. Thus, the *Bułkʿ* are not likely candidates for this position, the most strenuous objections being clearly linguistic *(Barš/Varač—Bułx?)*.[826]

Sources

Movsēs Dasxurancʿi, ed. Emin, pp. 271, 288, 295: Վարաչան *(Varačʿan)*

Movsēs Xorenacʿi (*see*, Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 17 citing the short redaction, Venice ed., 1865: Վառաչան *(Vařačʿan)*)

Marquart also cites the form Վառաջան *(Vařaǰan)* without giving its sources.[827] The Soukry edition has: Վարաջան *(Varaǰan)*

Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīx*, ed. Houtsma, II, p. 381: وردان *Wardān*

Letter of the Qağan Joseph (Kokovtsov, *op. cit.*, Short Version, p. 25): ורשאן *(W.rš(š)ān)* (Long Version, p. 32): ורשאן *(W.dš(š)ān)*[828]

MSS

Movsēs Dasxurancʿi

London, British Museum OR 5261, f. 170r, line 18; f. 181r, line 12; f. 185v, lines 8–9: Վարաչան *(Varačʿan)* (Plates 247, 248, 32)

Yaʿqūbī

Cambridge, QQ10, f. 175v, line 6: وربان *(W.r.?ān)* (Plate 249)
Manchester, John Rylands Library, Arabic 231 (801), f. 139v, line 7: وربان *(W.r.?ān)* (Plate 250)

[825] Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān*, p. 94. *See also* his article "A New Book on the Khazars" *Oriens*, XI (1958), pp. 125–126.

[826] Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, pp. 156–157; Dunlop, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

[827] Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 16.

[828] The form in the Long Version stems from the Leningrad Manuscript (*see* Kokovtsov, *op. cit.*, p. 86).

Letter of the Qağan Joseph

Oxford, Christ Church 193, f. 18r, line 22: ורשאן* *(W.r.sān)* (Plate 251)

Pronunciation: The Hebrew and Arabic forms with *š* (accepting Minorsky's emendation of ورثان to *ورشان) are probably attempts to render the *č* we find in the Armenian form. Whether the form mentioned in Jehudah Hal-Levi is to be connected with these forms is still an open question (Marquart's emendation is, however, quite appealing). Presumably the name of the Hunnic city was **Varačan* or **Waračan.*

Comments: The etymology and meaning of this toponym are unclear. Perhaps, the name of this city is derived from a tribal name as was already suggested above. Aside from the *Barsel*, one can suggest the *Oὐάϱ (= Uar = War)* mentioned in Theophylactus Simocatta (what *-ačan* would mean is unclear).[829] The possibility that this name antedates the arrival of the Huns to the North Caucasus and would, thus, be of Palaeo–Caucasian origin, is not to be dismissed.

Miscellanea

53–54. QĪŠŪ(W)Ī AND B.Ǧ.ND

Muqaddasī, as Dunlop noted,[830] has in two places of his work a listing of Khazar cities which contains some elements not found in other accounts. The listing has the following:

اتل بلغر سمندر سوار بغند قيشوى البيضآء خمليج بلنجر

(Atıl/İtil, Bulğar, Samandar, Suwār, B.ğ.nd, Qīšū(w)ī, al-Bayḍā', Xamlīǰ, Balanǰar).[831]

It is unclear whether *B.ğ.nd* and *Qīšū(w)ī* belong to the inner core of Khazar cities (such as Atıl/İtil, Samandar, al-Bayḍā', *Xamlīx and Balan-

[829] Theophylactus Simocatta, *Historia* (Bonn ed.), p. 284. Marquart (*Komanen*, p. 74) suggests that *Varačʿan* be connected with *Uar–Awar–Oat* (the latter being the Chinese transcription), the name of the ruling horde of the White Huns. On the *Oat (Uat–Ǧwat)* ~ *Var*, Avar ~ Hephthalite question, *see* Czeglédy, *Nomád népek*, esp. dp. 84–89.

[830] Dunlop, *op. cit.*, p. 187, n. 85.

[831] Muqaddasī, ed. de Goeje, pp. 51, 355.

jar) or were subject cities (such as Bulğar and Suwar). Indeed, as they are mentioned nowhere else, we do not even know if they were really Khazar cities.

Sources

Muqaddasī, ed. de Goeje, p. 51 : بغند *(B.ğ.nd)*, قيشوى *(Qīšū(w)ī)*; de Goeje cites the following readings for the Berlin manuscript : بعند *(?ʿ?d)* and فشوره *(? šūr. h)*,[832] p. 355 : بعند قيشوى

MS : Berlin Staatsbibliothek 6033, p. 302, bottom line بغند *(?.ğ.nd)*, قيسوى *(Qīsū(w)ī ?)* (Plate 219)

Comments: Dunlop suggests *Bajkand* "a flourishing town in the province of Saqsin according to Aḥmad Tūsi"[833] and "*Q-yshw-y* = *K-ywān* (of the Derband nāme) for our two forms.[834] قيشوى perhaps contains the element *qıš* "winter", but it may just as easily be read as **Qayšui* (?), *Qoyšui* (?) etc. Without corroboration from other sources the pronunciation and meaning of these toponyms remain unclear. Their absence in other sources is suspicious.

55. *AL-ǰDĀDAH

During the 737 campaign of Maslamah into Khazar territory, the Khazar Qağan is described (by Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī) as possessing a kind of travelling tent-car (a "*kibitka*" as it is termed in Russian).

Sources

Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī, Istanbul, Topkapı, III Ahmet 2956/II, f. 192v, line 4 : الخداده *(*al-ǰdād. h)* (Plate 137)

Togan pointed to the possibility of this being an arabized form of the Turkic *alačυ* (*DTS* p. 35) "šatër".[835] Radloff (Radloff, I/1, p. 362, QQır.,

[832] I have not examined this portion of the Berlin manuscript and hence no plates are indicated here.

[833] Dunlop citing Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, p. 205.

[834] Dunlop, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

[835] Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, pp. 118–122 and Zajączkowski, *Ze studiów*, p. 67. Arabic frequently syncopates foreign terms beginning with *al* (*cf. al-Lān* "the Alans"). On the repansion of *alačuq, see:* U. Johansen, "Alačyq" *Reşid Rahmeti Arat için*, pp. 286–305.

Qč., Qaz. T., Qrm., Osm.) has *alačuq/alačıg* (*i*) "Rindenjurte", (*ii*) "Hütte aus Zweigen", (*iii*) "die Filzzelte der in Transkaukasien nomadisierenden Tataren", *alaja* "ein Turkmenenzelt aus buntem Gewebe" (*cf.* Russ. *lačuga* "hut", "shanty"). This would, perhaps, explain the first element but داده still remains unclear. It is possible that this is the same element which crept into the Russ. *lošad'* "horse" [from Turkic *alaša* + *d'* Radloff (Radloff, I/1, p. 366) explains this as *alaša* + *at*].[836]

56. AḤMAD IBN KŪYAH (KUWAIH?)

Mas'ūdī in the *Murūj* speaks of a Muslim *wazīr* to the Khazar king who in his day bore the name Aḥmad ibn Kūyah (? the editors of the Paris edition of Mas'ūdī read this as *Kowaih*).

Sources

Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, p. 10 : احمد بن كويه

MS : Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 1476, f. 80v, line 8 : احمد بن كويه (Plate 252)

Comments: It is impossible to determine whether Aḥmad ibn *Kūyah (?) was ethnically a Khazar on the basis of the one notice we have regarding him. The name *Kūyah* is unclear and is open to a variety of interpretations.

Words of Possible Khazar Affiliation

This survey does not completely exhaust our material. There are other sources for the Khazar language that have just recently begun to be examined. These are the runic inscriptions coming to light in archaeological sites associated with the Khazar Empire (*see* n. 41 above). There are still a great many problems regarding this fragmentary material, not the least amongst which is the question of authorship (are they Khazar materials or materials stemming from other Turkic peoples under Khazar rule?). Moreover, the question of these runes is closely related to problems associated with Pečeneg and Old Hungarian runes in particular as well as Turkic runes in general and can be intelligently discussed only in that context. This, of

[836] Preobraženskii, *Etimologičeskii slovar'*, p. 473 is at a loss to explain the Russ. *-d'*.

course, is a suitable topic for a separate work. In discussing, then, words of possible Khazar affiliation (in which category we would include the Turkic runic materials from the Don–Novočerkask–Maiatskoe gorodišče, Xumara etc.), we will take into consideration only material found in our literary sources.

The attribution of various toponyms or hydronyms to any one people without a clear indication in the sources of their having given the name to this or that place, river etc.; or, at least, of their intimate and prolonged association with the place or river in question, is a rather hazardous procedure. Even when such an intimate and prolonged association can be established, there is no guarantee that the hydronym or toponym in question originated in the language of the people under discussion. Such names are very often borrowed from the previous inhabitants of the region (which in the steppelands of Eastern Europe–Eurasia can become a construction with many layers), adapted to the pronunciation of the newcomers and popularly etymologized. Given the present state of our sources, it is not really possible to accurately measure the Khazar impact on the toponymy and hydronymy of the lower Volga–North Caucasian–Ukrainian steppelands. One is continually asked to answer what is at present unanswerable: is this or that word Khazar or a borrowing?

With these and other caveats in mind, let us examine some of the toponyms and hydronyms of areas with long Khazar associations. Our source material consists almost exclusively of the very valuable and unique notices found in Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *De Administrando Imperio*. In addition, there are a number of personal names connected (perhaps tenuously) with the Khazars that will be briefly discussed.

1. *The "Pečeneg Forts"*. In Chapter 37 of the *DAI*, Constantine lists a number of Dnestr *(τοῦ Δανάστρεως ποταμοῦ)* river fortresses (in his days deserted) which were situated at the crossings *(περάματα)* of that river. The names (with the exception of *Ἄσπρον* which is directly translated into Greek) have been explained as Turkic *(Τονγγάται, Κρακνακάται, Σαλμακάται, Σακακάται, Γιαυκάται)*[837] by Németh and Menges.[838] They are, most probably, the Pečeneg forms of these castronyms. This does not mean that these names are "native" Pečeneg. They may simply reflect Pečenegized versions of earlier Turkic or non-Turkic names. We know from Constantine

[837] Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *DAI*, Moravcsik–Jenkins, p. 168.

[838] *See:* Németh, *Die Inschriften*, p. 51, and K. H. Menges, "Etymological Notes on Some Pačänäg Names" *Byzantion* 17 (1944–45), pp. 271–273.

that these forts had a long tradition, perhaps even "Roman" (i.e. Byzantine) antecedents. Were these forts part of the joint Khazar–Byzantine defense system? We have no information regarding a Khazar presence this far west. Nonetheless, the possibility is not to be excluded. Indeed, the pattern of the system found here matches that of the Khazars: "white" forts located at strategically important river crossings (*cf.* Sarkel, the garrisons on the lower Volga etc.). These regions have a long history of Turkic nomadic invaders; thus, even if the names in question are not, strictly speaking, Pečeneg: we are not compelled to view them as Khazar either.

2. *Χιδμάς/Χιγγιλούς (Συγγούλ?)*. In Chapter 38 of the *DAI* which deals with the origins and migrations of the Hungarians *(Τούρκοι)*, we find a number of hydronyms associated with lands long under Khazar domination. Constantine mentions the river "*Χιδμάς* also called *Χιγγιλούς*" located in the land of *Λεβεδία* (probably the north-eastern Ukraine, the Xarkov–Don–Donets region).[839] Various attempts have been made to identify this river.[840] *Χιδμάς* would appear to contain the Turkic negativum of the Aorist: *-msz, -mss* = **Qıðmas, Qıdmas*. The meaning of the root *qıð-, qıd-* in Old Turkic, however, has yet to be established. Thus, the *DTS* (p. 440) has "otpuskat'?". Tekin [*op. cit.*, pp. 231 (Kül Tegin inscription), 332] has the form *ıqıd-* "give shelter". Orkun (*op. cit.*, IV, p. 88) translates it as "iler-letmek". Räsänen (*Versuch*, p. 261) in his discussion of this word, has "sich an etwas in feindlichem Sinne machen, vernichten, angreifen" for the Kök Türkic and Uyğur periods. Thus, the meaning of *Χιδμάς*, if it is Turkic, is at best a debatable proposition.

What lurks behind *Χιγγιλούς*, the other name of the *Χιδμάς* is equally murky. A number of scholars would see in *γιλ* the Turkic *köl, göl* "sea, lake". Thus, Fehér, for example, connects this word with *Συγγούλ* a river name given in Chapter 42 of the *DAI* (ed. Moravcsik–Jenkins, p. 184) and

[839] *See: DAI*, ed. Moravcsik–Jenkins, p. 170. For a survey of the literature on this and related topics, *see:* F. Dvornik, R. Jenkins *et al.*, *Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, De Administrando Imperio, II Commentary* (London, 1962), pp. 142–147. For *Lebedia* in Hungarian literature, *see:* Gy. Pauler, *A magyar nemzet története Szent Istvánig* (Budapest, 1900), Chap. II, esp. p. 13; K. Czeglédy, "A magyarság Dél-Oroszországban" in *MÖT*, p. 102. Németh (*HMK*, pp. 151ff.) places it rather more to the west, between the Don and Dnepr (in this regard *see* also H. Schönebaum "Die Kenntnis der byzantinischen Geschichtsschreiber von der ältesten Geschichte der Ungarn vor der Landnahme "*Ungarische Bibliothek*, Erste Reihe, 5 (Berlin–Leipzig, 1922), p. 42. Vernadsky [G. Vernadsky, M. de Ferdinandy, *Studien zur ungarischen Frühgeschichte* in *Südosteuropäische Arbeiten*, 47 (München, 1957), pp. 15–17] appears to claim the better part of the Ukraine for *Lebedia*.

[840] *See: DAI, II Commentary*, p. 147 and the literature already cited.

listed along with the *Δάναστρις*, *Δάναπρις* (Dnestr and Dnepr), *Ὑβύλ* (?), *Ἀλματαί* (?), *Κοῦφις* and *Βογοῦ* (text : *ὁ Κοῦφις καὶ ὁ Βογοῦ* which Marquart[841] emends to *ὁ Κοῦφις ὁ καὶ Βογοῦ*, thereby identifying the two as the Bug. Otherwise, it may be understood as the Bug and the Kuban[842]). Fehér suggets : *Χιγγιλούς* = *Συγγούλ* = the Donets. He derives *Χιγγιλούς/Συγγούλ* from *Sin (cf.* Pliny Secundus : *Sinus)* + Turkic *köl.*[843] Unfortunately, we have no corroborating evidence. This is equally true of the still unidentified *Ὑβύλ* and *Ἀλματαί* which are not mentioned elsewhere.

3. *Some Hydronyms in Khazaria.* Later in Chapter 38 of the *DAI*, Constantine, in the course of his discussion of the contemporary (to him) Pečeneg territory [i.e. the former, post-Lebedia homeland of the Hungarians, (Etelköz) the South-central Ukrainian steppelands from which the Hungarians were driven into Pannonia] gives a listing of river names : *Βαρούχ*, *Κουβοῦ*, *Τροῦλλος*, *Βροῦτος*, *Σέρετος*. *Βαρούχ* is the Dnepr *(cf.* Hunnic *Var* in Jordanes[844] which ultimately goes back, like so many other hydronyms of the region to an Iranian base : **Waru-stāna cf. Βορυσθένης*[845]). The other rivers are the Bug, Dnestr (Turkic *Turla*) Pruth and Sereth.[846] These hydronyms most certainly antedate the coming of the Khazars to this region.

4. **Özüg* ~ *Ögüz.* The *Letter of the Qağan Joseph*[847] mentions a "large river in the north" which in the Short Redaction of the letter is given as יוזג *(yūz.g)* and in the Long Redaction as ואגז *(wāg.z)*. This river has been identified as either the Dnepr or the Don. In either event, this word was probably the "native" Khazar word for the river.

Both forms can be explained via Turkic. As is known, quite a number of the Turkic elements in the "Khazar Correspondence" are corrupted (this is certainly the case in the Long Redaction). יוזג may be viewed as an attempt to render **özüg* (י being an attempt at *ö*, perhaps corrupted from ו). *Özüg:* Kāšğarī, *DLT*: "any place that produces springs from the earth and becomes a watering place. Similarly, all irrigation canals are called *özük suw*".[848] Qumuq has : *özek* "ručei" [*cf.* also *özen* "rečka", "reka"

[841] Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 505.

[842] *See: DAI, II Commentary*, p. 155.

[843] G. Fehér, "Zur Geschichte der Steppenvölker von Südrussland im 9–10. Jahrhundert" *Studia Slavica*, V (1959), p. 308.

[844] Jordanes, *Getica*, ed. Skržinskaia, p. 174.

[845] Marquart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 33, 505. *See also* Ašmarin, *Bolgary i čuvaši*, pp. 51–52; Schönebaum, "Die Kenntnis" *Ung. Bibl.* Erste Reihe, 5, p. 44.

[846] *DAI, II Commentary*, p. 149.

[847] Kokovtsov, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 32. *See* pp. 82–3 of Kokovtsov's work for his extensive comments on these names.

[848] Kāšğarī, *Divan*, ed. Atalay, p. 48.

and Hung. *özön* (Gombocz, *BTL*, p. 112) "Flut", "Überschwemmung"]. **Özüg*, then, can be viewed as an Old Turkic term for "waterway". An Ottoman form of this term can be seen in *Özi, Özü (< özüg)*, the Ottoman name for the Dnepr.[849]

If אוגז is the "true" form, it may be viewed as a corruption of *אוגז *('ūg z)* = **ögüz* "river" (*see DTS*, p. 382).

5. *Some Topo- and Hydronyms of the Azov–North Caucasus Region.* Chapter 42 of the *DAI* contains a veritable host of toponyms and hydronyms associated with the Sea of Azov–North Caucasus coastal regions, areas long associated with the Khazar empire. The learned Emperor-Historian lists the rivers that flow into the eastern part of the Sea of Maeotis (Azov): the *Τάναϊς* (Don), the *Χαράκουλ* (where the fish *βερζίτικον* is caught), the *Βάλ*, the *Βουρλίκ*, the *Χαδήρ* and others. In the mouth of the strait between Bosporus and *Ταμάταρχα* (= Ruś *Tmutorokań*) is an island called *Ἄτεχ*. Below *Ταμάταρχα* is a river called *Οὐκρούχ* which separates *Ζιχία* from *Ταμάταρχα*. Off *Ζιχία* are the islands of *Τουργανήρχ* and *Τζαρβαγάνιν*.

Ζιχία is the country of the *Jikʿ*, a people of the North Caucasus, closely associated with Abxaz.[850] The rivers, with the exception of the well-known *Ταναΐς*, are yet to be identified. *Χαράκουλ* is clearly Turkic *Qara kül/kōl* "Black Lake" etc. With regard to *Βάλ*, Menges has suggested **bal* "clay", "löss", "mud", "mire" (noting, however, that the word in this form is "so far not attested" in any Turkic language, but *cf. balčıq* etc.)[851] *Βάλ* may, perhaps, be **Val/Var (cf.* Hunnic *Var*, *Βαρούχ* etc.) an Iranian element common to hydronyms of this region. Menges[852] has proposed for *Βουρλίκ*:[853] **Borlıq* or *Burlıq*, *cf.* Osm. *bor* "residue from dirty, muddy water", **borluq* "containing such a residue" (*cf.* Räsänen, *Versuch*, p. 80, *bōr:* "kireç, Kreide, Stuck, Kalk, glina" etc. attested in a number of dialects). Thus,

[849] *See:* Z. Abragamovič (Abrahamowicz), "Staraia turetskaia karta Ukrainy s planom vzryva dneprovskix porogov i ataki turetskogo flota na Kiev" and Z. Vesela, "Turetskii traktat ob osmanskix krepostiax Severnogo Pričernomoria v načale XVIII v." in *Vostočnye istočniki po istorii narodov Iugo-vostočnoi i Tsentral'noi Evropy*, ed. Tveritinova, II, pp. 79, 85, 90, 100 ff.

[850] Melikišvili, *K istorii drevnei Gruzii*, pp. 82, 89; Z. V. Ančabadze, *Iz istorii srednevekovoi Abxazii* (Suxumi, 1959), p. 109.

[851] Menges, "Some Päčänäg Names" *Byzantion*, 17 (1944–45), p. 277.

[852] *Ibid.*

[853] Marquart *(Streifzüge*, p. 530 n. 1) suggested that *Βάλ* and *Βουρλίκ* are one and the same (he emends *ὁ Βὰλ καὶ ὁ Βουρλίκ* to *ὁ Βὰλ ὁ καὶ Βουρλίκ)*.

Βουρλίκ may be explained in Turkic as the "muddy river".[854] The *Χαδήρ* is obviously Turkic *Qadır/Qaðır* "mighty, strong" (*see* above, p. 198 and Menges, *Byzantion*, 17, p. 277).

The *Οὐκρούχ* river is perhaps to be identified with the אוגרו *('ūgrū)* of the Qağan Joseph's letter,[855] a river in the south of Khazaria. Menges, following Marquart, sees in the *Οὐκρούχ* the Kuban.[856] Menges suggests an Oğuric ("Proto-Ṭavaš") *ükkər* (= Common Turkic *ögüz*) + diminutive in *-ik/ıq*, *ukkər-uk* "little river". Oğuric tribes were in the region; hence, an Oğuric designation is not an impossibility. One would expect, however, the prothetic *v (*vukkəruk')* so typical of Oğuric at this period.

The islands have similarly been explained via Turkic. There can be little doubt that *Ἀτέχ* is Turkic *Atağ* > *adaq*, *ada*, *atuv*, *atau* etc. (*see* Räsänen, *Versuch*, p. 31 for *atağ* and Menges, *Byzantion*, 17. p. 278). The other islands *Τουργανήρχ* and *Τζαρβαγάνιν* have been explained by Menges on the basis of Turkic: *Τουργανήρχ* = *turğan* (*tur-* "stand", "be erect", "watch guard") + *irik* ("hard", "rough", "coarse", "rude", "big", "huge") = "resisting (the waves, storms)", "big", "huge". *Τζαρβαγάνιν* = a nomen praeteriti iterativi in *-a-ğan* of *čarp-* "beat", "be beaten" = "permanently being beaten (by the waves and wind)".

6. *The letter of the Qağan Joseph* mentions a river in the north-west (?) of Khazaria, the בוזאן *(Bwz'n)*.[857] The name is not unknown to the region (*cf.* the *Buzan* river to the north-east of present day Astraxań). It may be connected with Turkic *buz* "ice".

7. The *Geography* ascribed to Movsēs Xorenac'i mentions the tribe *Bwšk'* (*Բշխ-աց*)[858] who as allies of the Khazars, aided the latter in driving out the Barsil. The name has yet to be identified.

8. الوبندر *(al-w.b.n.d.r)* is a toponym near Balanjar, mentioned in connection with Jarraḥ's campaigns (*see* above pp. 62–63) by Ibn al-Athīr.[859] It may be connected with the ethnonym וגנתר *(w.n.n.t.r)*, a designation

[854] *Βουρλίκ* may also be derived from an Oğuric **bur* (Common Turkic *Buz* "ice") or perhaps it can be compared with the name Burlaq "stormy" [*see* Németh, "Der Volksname *Karluk* und seine semantische Gruppe" *Acta Linguistica*, 19 (1969), p. 18].

[855] Kokovtsov, *op. cit.*, pp. 32, 111.

[856] Menges, "Some Pačänäg Names" *Byzantion*, 17 (1944–45), p. 279. Marquart (*Streifzüge*, p. 57 n. 3) has "südlichsten Mündungsarm des Kuban".

[857] Kokovtsov, *op. cit.*, pp. 33, 112 (comments).

[858] *Geographie de Moïse de Corène*, ed. Soukry, p. 26.

[859] Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon*, ed. Tornberg, V, pp. 112–113.

for the Onogundurs in Joseph's letter and a people mentioned in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* (ونندر — *w.n.n.d.r*).[860]

9. Z. V. Togan mentions a certain "Takin al-Xāṣṣa" : "Zu dieser Zeit war am Hofe der Kalifen ein gewisser Takīn al-Xāṣṣa sehr einflussreich ; er war ursprünglich ein Chazarer sein voller Name lautet : Takīn b. ʿAbdallāh al-Xazarī. Er war dreimal Generalgouverneur von Ägypten unter al-Muqtadir, nämlich vom 24. 6. 910 bis zum 24. 6. 915, vom 8. 8. 919 bis zum 23. 7. 921 und vom 13. 2. 924 bis zum 16. 3. 933 . . ."[861]

Togan cites al-Kindī as his source *(Ta'rīx Wulāt Miṣr)*. An examination of the latter, however, does not bear out Togan's assertions. Al-Kindī does, indeed, mention a certain Takīn (= Turk. *tekin, tegin, tigin* etc. *see* above, pp. 186–187), several, in fact, who ruled Egypt for al-Muqtadir in the time periods mentioned by Togan. Their names, however, are Abū Manṣūr Takīn and Muḥammad ibn Takīn.[862] Nothing is said, in al-Kindī, of their Khazar origin.

10. Al-Masʿūdī in his notice on Hormizd IV (dethroned in 589 by the revolt of Bahrām Čōbīn), notes that Hormizd's mother was a "daughter of Xāqān, king of the Turks, or rather, it is said, one of the kings of the Khazars who are near Bāb al-Abwāb".[863] Her name is given as فاقم *(Fāq.m)*. فاقم may be viewed as a corruption of **Apaqam* (Arabic ف regularly a substitute for *p*) = *apa* (*DTS*, p. 47) "staršaia rodstvennitsa", "staršaia sestra" + *qam* (*DTS*, p. 413) "šaman".[864] Analogous names are the Hunnic Ἀτακάμ and Ἐσκάμ cited by Priscus[865] = *ataqam* "father-shaman", *Ešqam* "spouse-shaman".

11. *Ταμγάν* is a name found in an inscription dated to 819 [*see* V. V. Latyšev, *Sbornik grečeskix nadpisei xristianskix vremën iz Iužnoi Rossii* (SPb., 1896), No. 75]. Moravcsik suggests that this is the name of a Christianized (?) Khazar.[866] *Ταμγάν* would be pronounced as *Tamğan*.

[860] *See* Dunlop, *op. cit.*, p. 43 for a full discussion, as well as *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, ed. trans. Minorsky, pp. 162–3, 465–471.

[861] Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, pp. 108–109.

[862] *See: The Governors and Judges of Egypt or Kitāb el-Umarā' (el-Wulāh) wa Kitāb el-Qudāh of el-Kindī*, ed. R. Guest, *Gibb Memorial Series* (London, 1912), pp. 268, 276, 280, 281, 283. *See also* the more recent Beirut edition : *Wulāt Miṣr* (Beirut, 1959), pp. 114ff., 116ff., 119ff., 122–123.

[863] Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, II, p. 211 (Cairo ed. I, p. 270).

[864] Women shamans, according to custom, were especially adept in foretelling the future. Hence, the role of the shamaness was extremely important. *See* İnan, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[865] *See* Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, pp. 76, 126 ; Németh, *HMK*, pp. 137–8.

[866] Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 251.

Comments: Tamğan Radloff (III/1, pp. 1004–1005) compares it with *Taman* (Radloff, III/1, p. 996 CT.) "eine Würde". Menges believes that *Tamğan* must go back to the Altaic *tamğa, Tamağa*[867] which, in turn, he derives from the Turkic root *tam-* (Qırğız *tam-* "zagorat'sia", "zažigat'sia" Iudaxin, *Kirgiz.–Rus. slovar'*, p. 698 ; *cf.* Altaic roots mentioned by Menges : Manču *da-* "feuerfangen", "brennen" Korean *t'a-* "brennen" which can go back to an old Iranian loanword (Early Avestan) *daxma* "Leichenstätte", "Leichenbestattungsort" with the earlier meaning of "ursprünglich Verbrennungsstätte"[868]). Radloff gives several names with this title : *Sabra Tamğan Tarqan, Sabra Tamğan Čur, Altun Tamğan Tarqan.* Orkun also mentions the names *Taman Tarqan* and *Tamğan.*[869] Marquart translates *Tamğan Čur* as "der das Tamğa führende Čur".[870] The word is also found in Uyğur (Caferoğlu, *Uyg. sözl.* p. 222 *Tamğan*: "bir ünvan"). *Tamğan* should be compared with Tamğa (Radloff, III/1, pp. 1003–1004) OT., Čağ., ET., Tar., Tel., Küär., Qaz. T. "das Eigenthumszeichen, welches den Thieren eingebrannt wird", "das Siegel", (Čağ.) "die Abgaben, Zollgebühren, die von Kaufleuten, Reisenden erhoben werden". The name is further evidence, if it is indeed Khazar, of the continuity of Kök Türkic traditions among the Khazars.

Peoples Associated with the Khazar State

As a postscript to our survey of the remnants of the Khazar language, I think it would be useful, in order to have a fully rounded picture, to give a brief presentation of the linguistic materials we have for the Altaic peoples most closely associated with the Khazar state (these are the Kök Türks, Bulğars, Sabirs and North Caucasian "Huns"). As there already exist full-length studies of the languages of the Kök Türks and the Bulğars, I refer the reader to the bibliographies and outlines found in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, vol. I, to which one must now add (for Kök Türkic) T. Tekin's recent and very useful *Grammar of Orkhon Turkic.* Our task, then, will be a brief examination of the sparse remnants of Sabir and North Caucasian "Hunnic".

[867] Menges, "ТЪМУТОРОКАНЬ" *Zeitschrift für Slavische Philologie*, XXIX (1960), p. 132.

[868] Menges, "Problemata Etymologica" *Zeitschrift für Slavische Philologie* XXXI (1963), pp. 34, 37, 38.

[869] Orkun, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 166–167.

[870] Marquart, *Die Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften*, p. 43.

1. *Sabır* found in the following forms :

Priscus (*see*, Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, pp. 262–263) : *Σάβιροι*

Theophylactus Simocatta (Bonn ed.), p. 258 : *Σάβιροι*

Procopius, *De Bello Gothico* (*see* Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II. pp. 262–263) : *Σάβειροι*
Variants : *Σάβινους Σαβίνων σαβήρων σαβειράς σαβήροις*

Agathias, ed. Keydall, pp. 106, 107, 139 : *Σάβειροι Σαβείρων;* (Bonn ed.), pp. 267, 268, 269, 270, 313 : *σαβήρων*

Menander (*see* Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, pp. 262–263) : *Σαβεῖροι*
Variants : *Σαβειρ Σαβειρα Σαβήρους*

Jordanes, *Getica*, ed. Skržinskaia, p. 136 : *Saviri*

Movsēs Xorenacʿi (cit. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 58) : *Սաւիրք (Savirkʿ*; ed. Soukry, p. 27 : *Սաւիրք (Sawirkʿ)*

Zacharias Rhetor (cit. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 356) : ܣܒܝܪ (S. B. R.) ; (*see*, also *Kirchengeschichte*, trans. Ahrens–Kruger, p. 253)

Ibn al-Faqīh, ed. de Goeje, p. 297 : سُوَر *(Suwar)*

Al-Muqaddasī, ed. de Goeje, p. 51 : سوار *(S.wār)*

Ibn Xurdādhbih, ed. de Goeje, p. 124 : سوار *(S.wār)*
The latter should be connected with the سواز *(S. wāz)* of Ibn Faḍlān[871] and the سوار *(S. wār)* of Maḥmud al-Kāšğarī[872] who formed part of the Volga Bulğar state.

Letter of the Qagan Joseph (Kokovtsov, *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 28) : סאויר (*Sāvīr* – Short and Long Redaction)

For a possible etymology of this ethnonym *see Qʿazar* above p. 127.

The *Σάβαρτοι ἄσφαλοι* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus,[873] *Sevordikʿ* of the Armenian sources (Asołik, Thomas Artsruni[874]) and ساوردیه *(Sāwardiyah)* of Balādhurī[875] and Masʿūdī[876] are connected, by Marquart and Németh, with

[871] Ibn Faḍlān, ed. trans. Kovalevskii, pp. 139, 321.
[872] Kāšğarī, *Divan*, ed. Atalay, p. 25.
[873] Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *DAI* (Bonn ed.), p. 169 ; ed. Moravcsik–Jenkins, p. 170.
[874] Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 38.
[875] Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, p. 203.
[876] Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, II, p. 75.

the Hungarians. In their view, this was a group of Hungarians whose tribal name is derived from that of the Sabırs (a memento of their once having been part of the Sabır tribal union).[877] The name has survived amongst the Hungarians as a personal name: Zuard.[878] Togan (*see* his *Umumî Türk tarihine giriş* I, p. 173) has noted a number of toponyms in the general Caucasus region which may reflect areas where Sabirs were once present: Šaberan, Samır, Samırkent, Sabir-xost, Sibir-don, Sivir-don, Savir, Bilasuvar, Sebir-oba, Sevare, Suvar.

2. *Balaq*. A Sabir chieftain c. 520 found in the following sources: Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boer, I, p. 175: *Βαλάχ*; Io. Malalas, Chronographia (Bonn ed.), p. 431: *Βλάχ*; Scylitzes-Cedrenus (Bonn ed.), I, p. 644: *Μαλάχ*; John of Nikiu:[879] *Balax*.

This name is a derivative from the Turkic *bala* (Radloff, IV/2, p. 491: Qır., QQır., Qaz. T., Trkm., Xiva, Qrm., Osm., Qaraim) 1. "das Kind", 2. "das Vogeljunge". *Cf.* also Qaz. Tatar (*Tatar–Russk. Slov.*, p. 54) *balaqai* "detka", "detočka" Maḥmūd al-Kāšğari[880] also notes the form *bala* "young of a bird". Other forms that can be noted are: *balaqınaq* (*DTS*, p. 80) "maliutka" and the Ottoman *balak* (*Redhouse*, p. 126) prov. (*i*) "young animal", "cub", (*ii*) "buffalo calf". Balaq was the name of a prominent *atabek* of 12th century Seljuqid Asia Minor.[881]

3. *Balmaq/Barmaq*. This is the name of a Sabir chieftain in the North Caucasus c. 555 as reported by Agathias, found as:

Agathias (Bonn ed.), p. 267, Keydell ed., p. 106: *Βαλμάχ*
Variant: *Βαρμάχ*

Pronunciation: **Balmaq*, **Barmaq*.

Comments: Turkic names ending in the suffix *-maq/-mäk* are not uncommon: *cf.* Mamluk Qıpčaq: *Čaqmaq* (**čaqmaq* "briquet"), *Čumaq* (**čumaq* "massue", "casse-tête"), *Doqmaq* (**doqmaq* "maillet").[882]

[877] Marquart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 36–40; Németh, *HMK*, pp. 183, 315–318. More recently, in a paper read on Dec. 28, 1971 at the 86th American Historical Association gathering in New York City, Prof. O. Pritsak connected the Sabırs with the Hsien-pi whose charismatic clan, the Mu-jung he associates with the ethnonym *Magyar*.

[878] Németh, *HMK*, p. 319.

[879] *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, trans. R. H. Charles (London, 1916), p. 140.

[880] Kāšğarī, *Divan*, ed. Atalay, p. 547; *DLT Tercümesi*, trans. Atalay, III, p. 232 "kuş yavrusu".

[881] *See* Cahen, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

[882] Sauvaget, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

Barmaq/Balmaq appears to be *barmaq* (Radloff, IV/2, p. 1489 Qaz..T., Qır., Qrm., Quman, Qar. L. T.) der "Finger" [*cf.* Grønbech, *Kom. Wb.*, p. 51 *barmaq (barmac)* "Finger", "Zehe"]. *Barmaq* figures in the Uyğur personal name *Barmaqlığ Čosun billig*.

4. *Bōarēks*. *Βοαρήξ* is the name of a North Caucasian Sabır princess c. 527 found in a variety of sources.

Io. Malalas (Bonn ed., p. 430): *Βώα*.
Variant: *Βοαρήζ*

Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, I, p. 175: *Βοαρήξ*,
Variants: *Βοαρίζ*, *Βοαρήξ*, *Βοαζηρ*, *Βοαρτιξ*, *Βοαρτήξ*, *Boazer*

Scylitzes-Cedrenus (Bonn ed., I, p. 644): *Βαρήζ*,
Variants: *Βοαζήρ*, *Βοαρήζ*, *Βαρήζ*, *Βοαρήξ*[883]

John of Nikiu:[884] *Boa*

Pronunciation: **Boarıq* ?, *Boarič* ?, *Bo?azer* ? etc.

Comments: Németh[885] suggests: **Bo-arıq* (**Boğ-arıq*) = *boğ* (Radloff, IV/2, p. 1647 *boğ* Osm. "aus dem Bulg.") "der Chef", "der Meister", "der Herr", "der Führer" + *arıq* (*arığ*, *DTS*, pp. 51–52) (*i*) "čistyi", "nezagriaznennyi", (*ii*) "nravstvenno bezuprečnyi", "blagorodnyi", "poriadočnyi", "neporočnyi", (*iii*) "istinnyi", "neložnyi", "pravednyi". Both Radloff and Xloros (*see* Xloros, *Lexikon*, I, p. 382) agree that the word *boğ* is a Slavic borrowing in Ottoman. Moreover, the word is known only to Ottoman of all the Turkic languages. Thus, this part of Németh's etymology is suspect. The second element *-αρηξ* (= **arıq*/**arığ*) still poses many problems. As our readings are not certain, it is wisest to refrain from speculation.

5–6. *Iliger* and *Kutilzis* (**Qut elči*). Agathias mentions two other Sabir military commanders operating in the North Caucasus around the year 555: *Ἰλιγερ* and *Κούτιλζις*.[886] Both of these names are clearly Turkic: *İlig-er* ("Prince-man") and **Qut elči* [*qut* (Radloff, II/1, pp. 990–991, Tel., QQır., Uyg., O. T., Čağ., Osm.) (*i*) "das Glück", (*ii*) "das geistige Leben", "die Lebenschaft", "Seele", "Geistesgegenwart", *cf. DTS*, p. 471: (*i*) "duša", "žiznennaia sila", "dux", (*ii*) "sčast'e", "blago", "blagodat'",

[883] *See* Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 108.
[884] *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, trans. R. H. Charles, p. 140.
[885] Németh, *HMK*, pp. 190–191.
[886] Agathias (Bonn ed.), p. 267, Keydell ed., p. 106.

"blagopolučie", "udača", "uspex", "dostoinstvo", "veličie"]. *Qut* is a common element in personal names *cf.* Uyğur: ***Qut, Qut Tängri Xatunı, Qutačun, Qutqan.***[887] The second element is ****elči/*ilči/älči*** *(DTS*, p. 169) "posol", "vestnik". This latter element also figures in a number of personal names (*cf. Qurla Elči,*[888] ***Elči čur, Elči Tiri***[889]).

NORTH CAUCASIAN HUNNIC

Movsēs Dasxuranc'i, whose *Patmut'iwn Aluanic'* is a veritable gold mine of information for the little known peoples of the North Caucasus, has a rather long account of the religious customs of the North Caucasian "Huns" (*see*, pp. 90–91 of this work). In the course of his notice, he mentions three "Hunnic" words:

Movsēs Dasxuranc'i, ed. Emin, p. 273: ***քուար (k'uar)***; p. 273: ***Թանգրի խան (T'angri Xan)***; p. 292: ***չոփայ (č'op'ay)***, variant: p. 293: ***չափայ (č'ap'ay)***

K'uar and *T'angri Xan* are names of gods. *T'angri Xan* is clearly Turkic *tanrı, tangrı, tengri* "God" + *Xan*. *K'uar* might, perhaps, mask ****kök*** ("heaven", "sky", "blue") + ***är/er*** ("man"), ***köğer*** > ***kö-er*** (*cf.* ***Κοναρτζι*** = ****küärči*** "blau",[890]) ***k'uar*** = ****köär*** (?). Another possibility is Turkic ***qağur-/qoğur-/qavır-*** "žarit' ", "kalit' "[891] (cf. Paasonen, *Tschuw. W.*, p. 71 ***kâvar*** "glühende Kohle", *Čuvaš.–Russ. Sl.*, p. 146 ***kăvar*** (*i*) "goriačie ugli" "žar", (*ii*) "ogoń", "plamia", "pyl"). The god *K'uar*, according to Dasxuranc'i was associated with fire and lightning.[892]

Č'op'ay (which in the British Museum MS OR 5261, ff. 183v, line 21, 184r, line 20 appears uniformly as ***č'op'ay չոփայ***) is a puzzle. According to Dasxuranc'i, the *č'op'ayk'* (Armenian plural form) were the royal burial mounds. Dowsett, upon L. Bazin's suggestion, offers Turkic ***čŏp*** (*see* Grønbech, *Kom. Wb.*, p. 76 ***čŏp*** "Überbleibsel", "Abfälle", ***tirki čŏbü*** "Überbleibsel vom Opfer . . ."). He notes that "the word is preserved in various Caucasian languages, In Ossetic *coppay* means a ceremonial dance around a victim struck by lightning, a refrain sung at the burial of the same, and a rite at the time of drought".[893]

[887] *DTS*, p. 472; Caferoğlu, *Uyg. sözl.*, pp. 188–189.
[888] Caferoğlu, *Uyg. sözl.*, p. 187.
[889] *DTS*, p. 170.
[890] *See* Németh, *Die Inschriften*, p. 50.
[891] *DTS*, pp. 406, 437, 452.
[892] Dasxuranc'i, *History*, trans. Dowsett, p. 156.
[893] *Ibid.*, pp. 165–166, n. 2.

Other sources (Byzantine, Latin and Ethiopian) mention a number of sixth century "Hunnic" chieftains who were drawn into the Perso–Byzantine entanglements of the 520's as the two empires competed for allies in the strategically important North Caucasian and Pontic steppelands.

The earliest mention of the North Caucasian Hunnic chieftains (Theophanes calls him "King of the Huns"[894]) is *Ζιλγίβις*

Io. Malalas (Bonn ed.), pp. 414–415: *Ζιλγίβις;* variants: *Ζιλγίβι, Ζιλγιβί, Ζιλγίβιν*[895]

Chronicon Paschale (*see*, Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 131): *Ζίλγβις, Ζίλγβι, Ζίλγβιν, ζιλγβίν, τζιλγβιρος*

Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, I, p. 167:[896] *Ζιλγβί, Ζιλγβιν.* Variants: *ζιλίγβις, ζιλγβής, ζιλίγδης, Zelicbes, ζιλίγβιν, ζιλίγδην Zelicben*, etc.

John of Nikiu: *Ziligdes;* Landolfus: *Ziligdes.*[897]

Comments: There is no satisfactory explanation of this name.

Some seven years after the intrigues involving *Ζιλίγβις*, two "Hunnic" kings appear in the Byzantine sources: *Γλώμ*∼*Γλώνης* and *Τύραγξ*∼*Στύραξ*:

Io. Malalas (Bonn ed.), p. 431: *Γλώμ, Τύραγξ.*
Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, p. 175: *Γλώνης, Στύραξ.*
Scylitzes-Cedrenus (Bonn ed.) I, p. 644: *Γλώης, Στύραξ.*
John of Nikiu (trans. Charles, p. 140): *ʿAglānōs, Astērā*

Pronunciation: Γλώμ /Γλώνης/ ʿAglānōs = *Oğulom?, *Oğlan (? certainly not as a personal name at this early date). *Τύραγξ /Στύραξ/ Astērā* = **Türäk?*, **Türängäš?*, **Eštüräk?*, **Astürāk?*

Comments: Moravcsik notes in regard to *Γλώμ/Γλώνης* that a Persian called *Γλώνης* is mentioned in Procopius and Theophanes.[898] It is impossible to discern from the forms we have what name (or title?) may be hidden here.

We encounter similar problems with *Τύραγξ /Στύραξ/ Astērā*. Moravcsik comments that the name *Στύραξ* is found in classical and Byzantine Greek

[894] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, I, p. 167.

[895] For these and other manuscript variants given here, *see* Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 131.

[896] *See also* Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 131.

[897] *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, p. 138, Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 131.

[898] Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 114.

as a Greek personal name. Our Byzantine authors may simply have grecicized a similar sounding foreign name. Moravcsik cites the alternative explanations: **Öz-turaq* or Iranian *Stūrak* (both followed by question marks).[899]

We venture to propose an etymology: *tığraq* "one who is renowned for cleverness" [*see* Houtsma, *TAG.* (Arabic text), p. 25; *tıraq* "rasch, energisch" *cf.* Grønbech, *Kom. Wb.*, p. 263].[900] Another possibility is **Tülāk* (with *r–l* oscillation), an Uyğur name found in a thirteenth century juridical document from the Turfan oasis (*see*, *DTS*, p. 596).

Byzantine tradition has preserved the names of two other "Hunnic" chieftains prominent in the Pontic steppes at this time (c. 527): *Γορδᾶς/Γρώδ* who was won over to Christianity and killed by his fellow-tribesmen as a result and his brother *Μουαγέριος/Μοῦγελ* who succeeded him as king:

Io. Malalas (Bonn ed.), pp. 431–432: *Γρώδ, Μοῦγελ*

Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, I, pp. 175–176: *Γορδᾶς, Μουάγεριος.*

Variants: *Χορδᾶς, Gorda; Μουαγέρης.*

Scylitzes-Cedrenus (Bonn ed.), p. 644: *Γορδᾶς, Μουαγέραν.*

Variants:[901] *Μουάγερον, Μουαγέρα.*

Németh has suggested that *Γορδᾶς/Γρώδ* = **Oğurda* (the tribal name *Oğur* + Hung. suffix *-da*), *Μουάγεριος* = **Mogyeri* (the Hungarian tribal name).[902] It is not clear, however, that the Hungarians, or elements of them, were present in the steppelands north of the Kuban at this time. We may perhaps agree with Németh that *Γορδᾶς/Γρώδ* does contain the element **Oğur*. The treatment of *δας/δ*, however, fraught as it is with other consequences, cannot be further elucidated at this time. Our second name, *Μουάγεριος*, is even more troublesome. Its rendering as **Mogyeri* (Mod'eri) faces formidable philological difficulties (in the Greek of this period it would have been pronounced Muager(i) or Muayer/Muayeri). Any resolution of the question based on data at hand must, perforce, rest on various emendations and ultimately speculation.

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[899] Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, pp. 292–293.

[900] *Cf. also* Kuryšžanov, *Issledovanie*, p. 202 and the literature cited.

[901] Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, p. 193.

[902] Németh, *HMK*, pp. 167–168, *cf.* also Schönebaum, "Die Kenntnis der byzantinischen Geschichtsschreiber" *Ung. Bibl.*, Erste Reihe, 5, pp. 1–3.

In any discussion of Khazar ethnic affinities, we are handicapped by the lack of any texts in the Khazar language. On the basis of the limited material presented in the Wordlist (which contains all the material we have on the Khazar language in literary sources), we can, I think, arrive at certain general conclusions. The bulk of Khazar titulature is identical with that known to the Turkic world at that time in general and is, in almost all respects, one and the same with that of the Kök Türks in particular. The majority of the personal names are Turkic (two are probably Iranian: *Hazār* and *Kundājīq* = *Kundagīq, the latter with a Turkic diminutive suffix). A number of names (*Barǰïk, Baštwa, Bulč'an, Č'at', Č'at'n, Čul/Čulı* etc.) and several titles *(K.nd.r, Jāwašīğar, Salifan)* remain unexplained. This is due to either garblings in our texts *(cf. Barǰïk, *Yazır* (?) *?lāš)* or lack of comparative material.

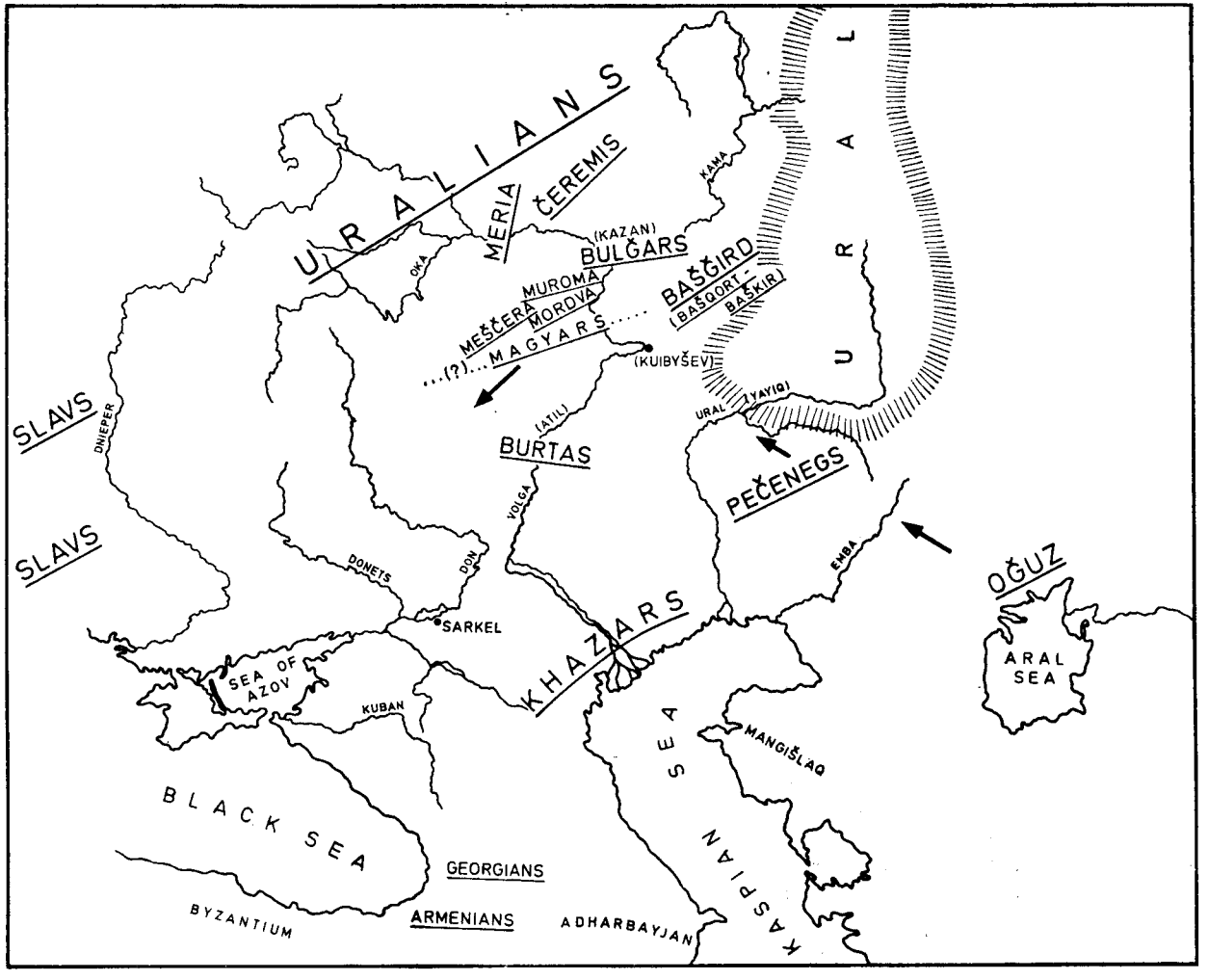
Khazar hydronyms and toponyms, once we leave the North Caucasus where substratal elements appear to predominate *(Balanǰar, Samandar, Varač'an)* and come to the lower Volga–Don steppelands, are Turkic *(Sarkel, Sarığšin, Xamlīx = *Xan Balıq* (?), *Qutluğ* (?), *Atıl/İtil)*.

The structure of the Khazar Qağanate, as we have seen, clearly parallels that of the Kök Türks both in its broader outlines and its specific features (*cf.* the *Qağanlıq budun* ~ *il täbärlik budun* relationship between the Khazars and the North Caucasian Huns).

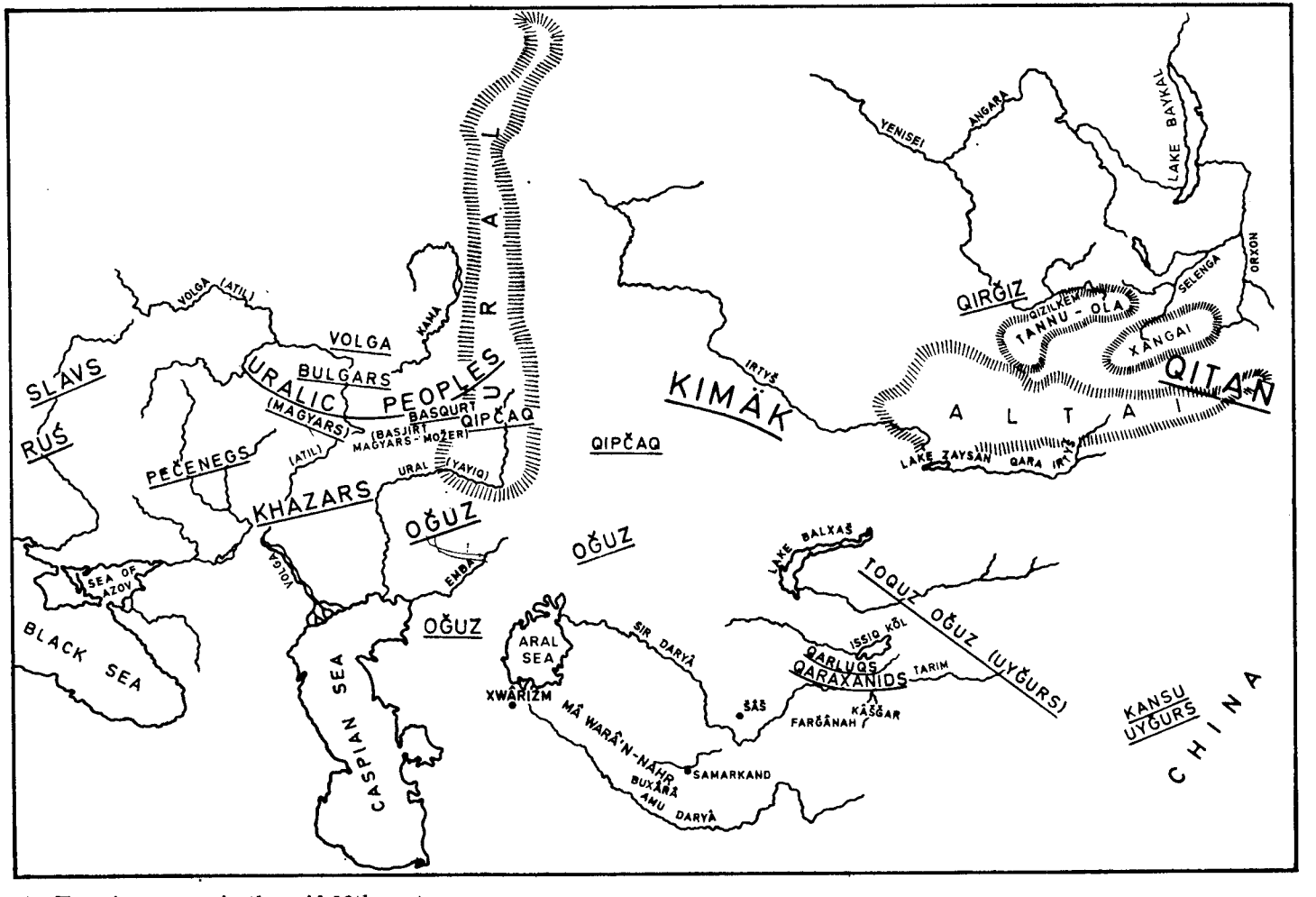
Given all of the above, we must conclude that ethnically the Khazars were a Turkic people (borrowing might explain some of these elements but not *all* of them). Our real difficulties begin when we attempt to determine what kind of Turks the Khazars were. On the basis of a notice in Iṣṭaxrī (*see* above) attempts have been made to connect the Khazars with the Oğuric Turkic peoples. Our Wordlist provides little justification for this. The toponym *Sarkel (*Šarı kel)* is perhaps the only word that *may* be viewed as specifically Oğuric, but even here it is by no means clear. Other words, such as *Tudun* (= Oğuric/Bulğaric *Turun*) are clearly not. The problem is complicated by the multinational (and presumably multilingual) character of the Qağanate in the period in which the accounts forming the basis for our sources were collected. The Qağanate, like all great Altaic state formations was a confederation of tribes. Undoubtedly, there were present in the Qağanate, Turks speaking a variety of Turkic dialects (both standard and Oğuric), bi-lingual or even multilingual Finno-Ugrians, Iranians, Slavs etc. One may well suppose that some of these ethnically non-Khazars were informants for our sources. Obviously, our literary sources may have missed some of the finer ethno-distinguishing points. Thus, the Wordlist cannot give any definitive answer regarding the exact ethnic place of the Khazars

within the Turkic world (only texts in Khazar can). In its broader outlines it strongly indicates to us that the Khazars were Turks. Its comparative material should prove useful for both Turkologists and historians dealing with the vagaries of steppe history.

The ninth century, the period in which Khazar power reached its zenith and then began to decline has been for the scholar (even with Marquart's monumental *Streifzüge* as a guideline) a difficult century. In Eastern Europe, the two most important events (the rise of the Ruś and the decline of Khazaria) are still not fully elucidated. It is hoped that by having gathered all the available linguistic and ethnographic material on the Khazars (combined with an historical narrative) more light has been shed on this important people and thereby somewhat more illumination has been given to the area and events as a whole.



Khazaria and its neighbors ca. 840



The Eurasian steppe in the mid-10th century

ABBREVIATIONS

ADAW	*Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Berlin)
AEMAe	*Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* (Lisse)
AOH	*Acta Orientalia Hungarica* (Budapest)
ATG	Gabain, A. v., *Alttürkische Grammatik*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1950)
BGA	*Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, ed. de Goeje (Leiden, 1870–1894)
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (London)
BTL	Gombocz, Z., "Die bulgarisch-türkischen Lehnwörter der ungarischen Sprache" *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, XXX (Helsinki, 1912)
CAJ	*Central Asiatic Journal*
CMH	*The Cambridge Medieval History*
DAI	Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, Greek text ed. by Gy. Moravcsik; Eng. trans. R. J. H. Jenkins in Series *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*, I (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, 1967)
DTS	*Drevnetiurkskii slovar'* ed. V. M. Nadeliaev et al. (Leningrad, 1969)
DTT	Rásonyi, L., *Dünya Tarihinde Türklük* (The Turks in World History) (Ankara, 1942)
EI	*Enzyklopaedie des Islam*, I–II (Leiden–Leipzig, 1913–1927)
GAL	Brockelmann, C., *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* (Leiden, rev. ed. 1943–1949)
HMK	Németh, Gy., *A honfoglaló magyarság kialakulása* (Ethnogenesis of the Hungarian People Prior to the Conquest) (Budapest, 1930)
JA	*Journal Asiatique* (Paris)
KCsA	*Kőrösi Csoma Archivum* (Budapest)
KSz	*Keleti Szemle* (Budapest)
Kom. Wb.	Grønbech, K., *Komanisches Wörterbuch* (København, 1942)
MHK	*A magyar honfoglalás kútfői* (Sources for the Hungarian Conquest Period) ed. Gy. Pauler and S. Szilágyi (Budapest, 1900)

MNy	*Magyar Nyelv* (Budapest)
MÖT	*A magyarság őstörténete* (The Ancient History of the Hungarians) ed. L. Ligeti (Budapest, 1943)
MTA I.O.K.	*A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia nyelv-és irodalomtudományi osztályának közleményei* (Budapest)
PO	*Przegląd Orientalisticzny* (Warsaw)
PhTF	*Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, I (Wiesbaden, 1959)
PSRL	*Polnoe Sobranie Russkix Letopisei*, ed. Arxeografičeskaia Kommissiia (SPb.–Moskva, 1841–1968)
TAG	Houtsma, M. Th., *Ein türkisch–arabisches Glossar (Tarjumān Turkī wa ʿArabī)* (Leiden, 1894)
TMEN	Doerfer, G., *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, II (Wiesbaden, 1965)
UAJb	*Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*
UJb	*Ungarische Jahrbücher* (Berlin)
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

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